Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-004
Thursday
7 January 1993

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-004 *7 January 1993*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Top Russian Leaders Comment on START II Treaty 1
Kozyrev on START II, Yugoslavia *[Moscow TV]* 1
Deputy Foreign Minister's Article *[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 10 Jan]* 4
Deputy Defense Minister Interviewed *[INTERFAX]* 5
Armed Forces Chief of Staff Cited *[ITAR-TASS]* 5
Prominent Deputies Comment *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 6 Jan]* 6
Opposition Party News Conference *[INTERFAX]* 7
Kazakhstani Foreign Minister Welcomes START II *[INTERFAX]* 7
Belarus Foreign Minister Welcomes START II Treaty *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
Newspapers Examine Signing of START II Treaty 8
Significance, Speedy Implementation Noted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Jan]* 8
'Legitimate Questions' Aired *[PRAVDA 6 Jan]* 9
Prospects for Implementation Viewed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 6 Jan]* 9

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Gen Ivashov Discusses Composition of CIS Armed Forces *[Moscow International]* 12
Russian Candidates for Fleet Commander Identified *[Kiev International]* 12
Baltin Likely Choice *[INTERFAX]* 12
Central Asian Defense Ministers To Meet in Alma-Ata 15 Jan *[INTERFAX]* 12
Central Asian Accord Said Result of 'Natural Process' *[IZVESTIYA 6 Jan]* 13

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Yeltsin To Meet Ter-Petrosyan 10 Jan, Kravchuk 15 Jan *[INTERFAX]* 14
Kozyrev Warns of 'Hostile Nations' on Eve of Northern Tour *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Tour Previewed *[INTERFAX]* 14
Kozyrev Says Meeting With Dissidents To Help Cuban Ties *[INTERFAX]* 15
Foreign Ministry Regrets Sihanouk Statement *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
Churkhin Assesses Geneva Talks on Bosnia, U.S. Position *[INTERFAX]* 15
Telephones Milosevic on Bosnian Conflict *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
Views Crisis With Greek Official *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
With ICO Envoys *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
Bosnian Army Claims Capture of 15 Russian 'Volunteers' *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
Border Talks Begin With Estonia *[BALTFAX]* 16
Delegations Disagree on Issues *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
Military Delegation Visits Kuwait *[ITAR-TASS]* 17

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Discuss Political Issues, Reforms *[INTERFAX]* 18
'Sources' Say Yeltsin To Dismiss Administration Chief Petrov *[Radio Rossii]* 18
Further on Petrov's Reported Removal *[INTERFAX]* 18
Filatov Said Appointed to Post *[ITAR-TASS]* 18
Yeltsin, Tatar President Agree To Discuss Bilateral Ties *[INTERFAX]* 18
Sobchak, Baburin Voice Views on Federal System *[FEDERATSIYA 6 Jan]* 19
KURANTY Chief Editor Pessimistic Following Gaydar's Ouster *[31 Dec]* 19
Danger of Yeltsin-Legislature Clash Persists *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 4 Jan]* 20

Economic & Nuclear Issues

Moscow Explains 'State Control' Over Basic Foodstuffs *[ITAR-TASS]* 22
Chubays Statement Introduces Feature on Privatization *[IZVESTIYA 5 Jan]* 22
INTERFAX Reports on Republic's Declining Productivity 23
ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Views 1993 Economic Prospects *[4 Jan]* 25
Poll Shows Citizens Pessimistic About Own Prospects *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 6 Jan]* 26
Government Issues Decree on Nuclear Power Stations *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 6 Jan]* 26

Military Issues

Kokoshin Sees Enhancement of Armed Forces' Image *[Russian TV]* 27

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov Delegation Continues Mideast Tour 27
Meets Israeli Leaders *[Radio Rossii]* 27
Further on Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* 28
Arrival in Cairo *[ITAR-TASS]* 28
Decree Issued on Law on Citizens' Travel *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 4 Jan]* 28
Parliament Inserts Amendments in Tax Legislation *[ITAR-TASS]* 29
Opposition Members View Current Politics Scene *[Russian TV]* 29
Opposition Bloc Holds News Conference *[ITAR-TASS]* 30
Deputy Chairman Criticizes Khasbulatov's Powers *[KURANTY 6 Jan]* 30

Regional Affairs

Chechnya Announces Muslim Guerrilla Group Formations *[Moscow Radio]* 32
Chechen Vice Premier Favors Agreement With Russia *[ITAR-TASS]* 33
North Ossetian Situation 'Remains Complex' *[ITAR-TASS]* 33
Hurricane Hits Northern Fleet Garrisons *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Jan]* 33

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Kravchuk on Security Guarantees After Nuclear Disarmament *[INTERFAX]* 34
UN Delegation Proposes Black Sea Nuclear-Free Zone *[Kiev International]* 34
Commentary Views Positions on START, Nonproliferation *[Moscow International]* 34
START I Ratification Conditions Stated *[Radio Rossii]* 35
President Says CIS Charter Tramples Sovereignty *[INTERFAX]* 35
Further on Kravchuk's Refusal *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Jan]* 35
Official Briefs French Delegation on Stand on Treaties *[Kiev International]* 36
Sanctions Against Serbia Leave Cargoes Stranded *[PRAVDA 4 Jan]* 36
Agreement Signed on Combating Chernobyl Aftermath *[IZVESTIYA 31 Dec]* 36
Vice Premier, Delegation Leave for Moscow Talks *[Kiev Radio]* 36
To Discuss Soviet Foreign Debt *[INTERFAX]* 36

National Affairs

Officers To Form Body To Retain Nuclear Weapons *[Kiev International]* 37
Ministry Says Families Should Evacuate Chernobyl Zone *[INTERFAX]* 37
Parties Form Council, Issue Statement Backing Kuchma *[Kiev International]* 37
Assembly Urges Further Independence From CIS *[Kiev International]* 37
Military Establishes Control Communications System *[Moscow TV]* 37
Parliament To Discuss Economic Program *[INTERFAX]* 37
Cabinet of Ministers Adopts Economic Decrees *[KHRESHCHATYK 8 Dec]* 38
Cabinet Decrees Increase of Wages, Pensions *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 31 Dec]* 38
Economic Commission Head on Reforms *[KYYIVSKA PRAVDA 8 Dec]* 38

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Prime Minister Kebich Endorses CIS Charter *[INTERFAX]* 40
Representative to CIS Council Resigns *[INTERFAX]* 40
Communist Party, Komsomol Hold Aniversary Meeting *[BELINFORM]* 40
Chairman Shushkevich on Aims of Visit to PRC *[Minsk Radio]* 40
Shushkevich Interviewed on Current Issues *[ZVYAZDA 12 Dec]* 40
Officials Meet Polish Government Delegation on Border *[BELINFORM]* 44
Details of Latest Sales on Stock Exchange *[ITAR-TASS]* 45
Daily Publishes 1993 Economic Forecast *[ITAR-TASS]* 45
Rationing of Specified Foodstuffs Detailed *[Moscow Radio]* 45
Government Adopts Resolution on Social Security, Pay *[BELINFORM]* 45

Moldova

Dniester Republic Rejects Proposals on Status *[Moscow Radio]* 45
Former Communist Party Leader Plans Party's Revival *[ITAR-TASS]* 46

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Defense Minister Appeals to AWOL Servicemen, Draft Evaders *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Jan]* .. 47
Republic Begins Minting Own Coins *[INTERFAX]* 47
Compensation Introduced for Semipalatinsk Radiation Victims *[ITAR-TASS]* 47

Kyrgyzstan

Checkpoints Set Up Near Border With Tajikistan *[ITAR-TASS]* 47
Republic To Join Asian Bank of Reconstruction, Development *[Moscow International]* 47

Tajikistan

State of Emergency, Curfew Imposed in Dushanbe *[ITAR-TASS]* 47
State of Emergency Decree *[Dushanbe Radio]* 48
Dushanbe Ready To Sign Accords With Uzbekistan, Others *[INTERFAX]* 48
Government Controlling Large Part of Territory *[INTERFAX]* 49
Confiscation of Illegal Weapons Begins in Pamirs *[INTERFAX]* 49
Leaders Hold Talks on Disarming Militants *[INTERFAX]* 49
Slow Progress Made in Surrendering Weapons *[Moscow TV]* 49
Four Refugees Die Returning From Afghanistan *[INTERFAX]* 50
Anniversary of Ties with PRC Marked *[Dushanbe Radio]* 50
Government Faces Task of Rebuilding Facilities, Economy *[ITAR-TASS]* 50

Turkmenistan

Niyazov Receives Iran's Interior Minister *[Tehran IRNA]* 50

CAUCASUS

Armenia

President Calls For Negotiations on Nagorno-Karabakh *[ITAR-TASS]* 52
Defense Ministry Denies Minister Threatened Azerbaijan *[Yerevan Radio]* 52
Fighting in Karabakh, Calm on Borders *[Yerevan Radio]* 52
Shelling Reportedly Destroys Homes *[INTERFAX]* 52

Azerbaijan

Foreign Minister Views U.S., Russian Comments on Conflict *[TURAN]* 53
Defense Ministry Criticizes Armenian Statement *[ITAR-TASS]* 53
Moves Seen as Politically Motivated *[Baku TV]* 53
Armenian Attack on Northern Lachinskiy Region Fails *[TURAN]* 53
Update on Fighting in Tauzskiy, Fizulinskiy Rayons *[Baku Radio]* 54
Elchibey Views Rights of Compatriots in Georgia *[INTERFAX]* 54
Baku Welcomes Establishment of Central Asian Community *[INTERFAX]* 54
State Oil Company Signs Contract With Iran *[Moscow TV]* 54
Official Says Introduction of Manat Would Worsen Economy *[ITAR-TASS]* 55
500 Billion Rubles Need To Rehabilitate Economy *[INTERFAX]* 55
Industrial Output Falls 60 Percent Over 2 Years *[Radio Rossii]* 55

Georgia

Shevardnadze Said To Suffer Heart Attack *[Paris AFP]* 55
Shevardnadze Hosts Conference on Delegation Visit to Iran *[INTERFAX]* 55
Defense Council Adopts Resolution on Border Guards *[INTERFAX]* 55
Abkhaz Deputy Says War Without 'Future' *[ITAR-TASS]* 56
Abkhaz Ministry Concedes Sukhumi Offensive 'Failure' *[INTERFAX]* 56
Artillery Fire Resumes Along Entire Abkhaz Front *[Russian TV]* 56
Abkhaz Parliament Views Introduction of Peacekeepers *[INTERFAX]* 56
Defense Ministry Reviews 6 Jan Abkhaz Battles *[INTERFAX]* 57
Abkhaz Forces Shoot Down Russian Su-25 Aircraft 6 Jan *[ITAR-TASS]* 57

BALTIC STATES

Latvia

Foreign Minister Surveys Ministry's Performance *[BNS]* 58

Lithuania

Lubys on Forthcoming Talks With Poland's Suchocka *[Vilnius Radio]* 58
Landsbergis Denies 'Insufficient Initiative' With Belarus *[BNS]* 58
Poll Shows Most Vilnius Residents To Vote for Brazauskas *[BALTFAX]* 59
Legislature Adopts Amendment to Presidential Elections Law *[BNS]* 59
International Economic Relations Ministry Abolished *[BNS]* 59
Government Pays Portion of Debt for Russian Oil *[BNS]* 59
Debt Reaches 8.5 Billion Rubles *[INTERFAX]* 59
1992 Agricultural Production Down Nearly 30 Percent *[BALTFAX]* 60

Top Russian Leaders Comment on START II Treaty

Kozyrev on START II, Yugoslavia

LD0601145993 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0430 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Studio interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Korlov by announcers Petr Orlov and Irina Zaytseva; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] [Orlov] Russia's foreign policy ended the year on an upbeat note, and with this upbeat note—expressed in the signing of the START II treaty—we are entering the new year, 1993. Here in the studio is Russia's minister of foreign affairs, Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev.

The first question, naturally, concerns the treaty signed in Moscow within an exceptionally short period for an unprecedented reduction in strategic weapons. Although the ceilings and levels have been published in the newspapers, probably the main question for us is not concerning the next century when we shall reach these levels, but what faces us now, namely: jobs, work for the people—how much will this cost us? After all, disarmament is a process that costs no less than armament, and thus is of concern to our people.

[Kozyrev] I think that what is pleasant for our people is the fact that our country, while remaining a great power—one of the two superpowers—is no longer engaged in furthering the arms race that has wrecked our living standards, this agreement being yet another testimony to this. And, in terms of living standards we in the Soviet Union were not, unfortunately, at the forefront but generally speaking occupied an unenviable position. Now we will be reducing these armaments.

Second, I think it is important to bear in mind that these weapons are subject to reduction and elimination. But it is possible to do this unilaterally and when they were being developed people apparently never thought of this. Evidently the Politburo never set aside anything in the former USSR budget for the time when they would become obsolete, morally and physically, and great danger then threatens the environment and so on—serious matters indeed. And all, a great deal of money is necessary to eliminate them.

So it is possible to eliminate these weapons and it is a costly process, but it is possible to do this unilaterally and when the other side has an imbalance in armaments; it is also possible to do this with agreement on mutual reduction at the same level and with the same ceiling. The inevitable expenditure will therefore not be allocated for unilateral disarmament, but for mutually agreed disarmament that will bring political dividends and of which it will be possible to be proud. That is what is happening now with the weapons.

[Zaytseva] Andrey Vladimirovich, may I interrupt for a second. Many people, including politicans incidentally, are afraid and feel that the START II treaty may lead to a weakening of Russia's defense readiness....

[Kozyrev, interrupting] It is a very interesting question. First, this is not the case, because even after all the reductions, we will have not have a comparable adversary, or rather let us say partner, apart from the U.S.—same as today.

The second circumstance, which is little known, is that according to the START I treaty recently ratified by both the U.S. and the Russian Federation, we would have had an imbalance in nuclear armaments, in real terms, of about 2,500-3,000 warheads. This is because bombers were then considered on a conditional basis, whereas now they are accounted for according to what a bomber carries in real terms. Since the ceilings that we will reach are equal: 3,500 in real numbers, Americans will have to cut 3,000 warheads more than we will. One might say that they have lost to us, I would say we have all won.

But the most interesting aspect of your question is that you linked this specifically to security. And from the security viewpoint, even after all these reductions—which will come only toward the end of the century—we will be capable of destroying everyone on Earth, ourselves included, several times over.

The real challenge to our security today lies in regional conflicts. In these regional conflicts, the most interesting thing is that all this nuclear arsenal has absolutely no importance whatsoever—either in Tajikistan, Ossetia, Abkhazia, or in Dniester—apart from the fact, of course, that we are always worried: Is there a nuclear warhead over there that might have fallen off the back of a truck and ended up in the hands of a local leader?

So, in fact it is not so-called American imperialism that challenges our security—our parity in security terms is fully maintained under this agreement—it is the challenge of local wars that we still have to find the answer to, and that have caught us totally unawares.

Look, I was in Tajikistan. The 201st Motor Rifle Division is carying out a peacekeeping mission. But were these officers, these soldiers now heroically serving peace, really trained for this? This division was set up, as it were, to combat American imperialism, or NATO and so on. So, there is the real challenge to our security, and that is where we should direct our efforts and attention, and resources to really equip these rapid deployment forces, so that we can make use of them in regional conflicts when necessary and when it is possible—for peacekeeping purposes, of course—but henceforth to make use of trained people, not officers from the regular troops who are finding answers to these situations simply out of heroism and patriotism, but properly trained people, and it seems to me that this is where concerns about security really have to be directed, because this is where such people are needed.

[Zaytseva] It remains for the Supreme Soviet to ratify this treaty, although this too is regarded as quite difficult.

[Orlov] I have two questions. Our Russian Supreme Soviet and Ukraine, which has not even ratified START I yet. If you could briefly....

[Kozyrev, interrupting] In short, I think that, within our Supreme Soviet, the group of deputies—and it seems to me that they are, ultimately, the majority—who possess elementary common sense, and who regard the national interests of their country and not politicking as being of paramount importance, will prevail. That is the first point.

So I think that this treaty will be ratified by the Supreme Soviet. If only to spite them, I am in favor of deputies spending no fewer hours discussing this treaty—there are things in it that do need thinking over—than I, for example, have spent, or than the president has spent. If all this can be put together, then it is solid work.

Now, as regards the Ukrainian parliament, it has to ratify the START I treaty alone, because all the nuclear weapons in Ukraine fall under the provisions of that treaty, and that is why Ukraine is to ratify the START I treaty. This new treaty has nothing to do with it, it relates only to those weapons that remain in Russia. The same applies to Kazakhstan and Belarus. And it is for this reason that we and they are participants in the fulfillment of the START I treaty and are expecting ratification by them, just as the ratification by their parliaments, in keeping with their own proclaimed desire and the international obligations they took upon themselves under the Lisbon protocol, the simultaneous ratification or, at least, as quickly as possible, of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which proposes the renunciation of possession of nuclear weapons in any form.

Actually, the fewer such weapons the better. But the problems of the real defense of security and real threats to security—say, terrorism, or drug trafficking, the penetration of international mafia groupings, banditry, and so on—that is where all the resources should be directed. You understand, if one speaks about conversion, it is not just civilian—I would be in favor of our military enterprises now engaging in gas-propelled protection devices, especially since a presidential decree permits this. That is our own security. The production of devices of some kind that would permit the better protection of apartments, cars—I do not know—better monitoring of the border so that there are no queues there, and at the same time a hidden camera monitoring the area to ensure there are no drugs or weapons and so on. These are all serious issues on which our own and the state's security depends—not on nuclear warheads. Although, I repeat, that the balance here has been completely, scrupulously taken into account.

[Orlov] Andrey Vladimirovich, a little earlier in our conversation you said: I would like.... [changes thought] It seemed to me that the regional questions—the fanning of conflicts put them much closer to our consciousness, and were portrayed as being much more important to Russians. Does this mean that we are putting regional conflicts among the top priorities of Russia's policy? The Americans have long done this when they presented five points—they had human rights, nuclear disarmament, and regional conflicts. At that time, it was new for us. So now, does it mean that we have reached this point and are prepared seriously and thoroughly, and perhaps more thoroughly than nuclear disarmament, to deal with regional conflicts?

[Kozyrev] Well, I was recently in Sweden, and I spoke about this, but unfortunately this received practically no coverage in the mass media. Incidentally, it is necessary to deal with precisely this topic—a joint operation to maintain peace. Why am I speaking about the Swedes? It is because Sweden is a superpower of its own kind. They have decades of experience in the training of troops, equipping, language instruction, and involvement in U.N. operations to maintain peace. That is that we need. This is where we should have become a superpower, because these are the instruments that.... [changes thought] and we may be glad of this or not, or hurl accusations at each other—but it is a reality, it is a reality of the last years of the Soviet Union when these interethnic conflicts started. It is the reality of Yugoslavia, it is the reality today in Somalia, where the Americans are now going through this education with a whole range of other states. But for us over there, we do not have enough forces in our own country here, that is to say, for our own conflicts.

In a word, I completely agree with you, we really have to switch over to this real task of ensuring our own security, and strengthening stability in the entire CIS.

[Orlov] Andrey Vladimirovich, we will break for just one minute, and then we shall return to the question of Yugoslavia, and then there will be another question, one we will keep from you for the time being.

[Kozyrev] Fine. [Break for advertisements]

[Orlov] So we again return to our conversation with Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev, Russia's minister of foreign affairs, who is in our studio today. The next topic is Yugoslavia and the meeting in Geneva that has been interrupted for a short intermission, not yet for good, but the impression is that there is extremely little chance of reaching agreement on peaceful means of resolving the Yugoslav conflict, and the second question: Russia's position remains unclear to many of our compatriots and provokes questions and dissatisfaction.

[Kozyrev] The fact that our compatriots are dissatisfied with our policy is also not new, because in every country in the world, in all the countries of Europe, everyone is dissatisfied with politicians, and the politicians themselves are terribly dissatisfied with themselves. No matter who I speak to, this is a fact everywhere. Go to any country and everywhere today you will see this—probably in today's "Utro" in one form or another—and

without fail there will be this dissatisfaction about Yugoslavia, and indeed, while blood is shed there, no normal person can feel satisfied.

But what can be done in practice? From time to time, there emerges the practice of using force, especially among states with a large military potential, apropos of what we were saying. But look, in our country, from time to time, indeed the thought occasionally occurs to me: How is it that Russia, which inherited from the former Soviet Union a colossal military capacity, colossal—within 30 minutes, and I am not exagerating, we can destroy the whole world several times over—yet in Tajikistan we cannot use our forces more resolutely, or we cannot bring order to Yugoslavia?

The same thought probably occurs at times in other states, among our American friends.... [changes thought] I can even reveal a secret to you, that there have been occasions when I have approached our military, Grachev for example, and said, is it really impossible to do something there and he said to me: you are a hawk. You know, it is impossible, it is a most complicated operation and so on and so forth, and people would die as soon as you start to sort things out—so no, it will not work out.

Roughly the same round has just taken place—let us say use-of- force fervor—on the part of some of our Western partners who from November through about the middle of December were going around and airing these ideas of using force in Bosnia. We then used a covert veto, as it were, that is, we kept asking questions, kept negotiating. You have probably noticed that in Geneva alone, while the START talks were going on, I met practically all the leaders of the Yugoslav republics, and of course, Eagleburger and I spent a lot of time discussing this question, and then in Vienna I had to stay with Dumas, the French minister of foreign affairs, to discuss this issue, not to mention the whole day to day diplomatic kitchen, in order, generally, to cool down this fervor. Not because we are categorically against it. If force could somehow be used to solve some positive task, such as stopping bloodshed there, then we would probably all say—let us use force once and stop blood being shed. But how can this be done? So, at the moment, this question is off the agenda. So is the question of lifting the embargo on arms deliveries to Bosnia, and, finally, the Geneva mechanism has been launched. For the first time, all the sides, and all the military commanders have met. The fact that an intermission has been announced does not surprise me at all, because it may be said that we are familiar with every detail—and even took part in the elaboration of this plan of Vance and Owen's as coordinators of the London, and now the Geneva, process.

It is a very complex plan. And what distinguishes this plan is that it is put together very well indeed from the political and diplomatic point of view. This means that all parties to the conflict are equally dissatisfied by it. This is a diplomatic response: if one of the sides is more happy than another at the initial stage when it is made aware of the plan, this means that the plan is one-sided. A plan that dissatisfies all sides to an equal degree contains the element of reasonable compromise, which should be reached.

So I am not surprised that the sides that have acquainted themselves with this plan, and, generally speaking, we have been seeking to persuade them to regard it seriously, have now dispersed to their capitals and should do some homework, which includes arriving at some concessions and compromises. At present we are in contact with all the sides, in order to prompt them to return to the negotiating table having considered this, and understanding that it will be impossible to reach agreement without compromise, that is, without concessions.

If such an opportunity.... [changes thought] I shall not say it. In any event, everything must be done to ensure that this opportunity is used.

[Zaytseva] Apropos, you mentioned Grachev. If it is no secret, how are your relations with him developing?

[Orlov] Just the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense always, to a known degree....

[Kozyrev, interrupting] That is a real.... [changes thought] but you know, I should say that the Geneva round, the last one, when we were there together, is not, I feel, just a success in terms of diplomacy with the Americans, but there was another discovery—the discovery of Grachev. I must say that in the course of these negotiations, I got to know this man of flexible intellect, a man able to listen to interlocutors. This is very important. These days, it is a virtue. Unfortunately, there are very few people, especially in our politics, who are capable of listening to each other, and so, this is another gain, at least for me personally, which I took away from Geneva.

He and I even agreed. He, after all, served in the airborne troops [VDV]. We even thought up a new decipherment [of the acronym]—the military diplomatic troops [Voyenno-Diplomaticheskiye Voyska]. My first attempt was military diplomatic union, but to move toward him, that is to VDV, well we reached agreement. And I think there is a good chance of us both continuing to work in this key and understanding each other better and better.

But of course, one must not think, just as with the Americans, that partnership means the absence of disagreements, and even, at times, very sharp, tough arguments. We sat and argued through the nights there. Likewise, one must not think that partnership, or such a union between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense will be all calm waters. I have said A, and Grachev immediately said B, and vice versa. No, there are different viewpoints, a different approach, a different methodology, and for this reason, we will have arguments and disagreements, and I am completely at ease about this. This is a normal process.

[Orlov] Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev, who nevertheless sees opportunities for a diplomatic resolution of the

Yugoslav conflict, feels that it would be desirable to move the center of gravity away from nuclear disarmament to regional conflicts. And he is very glad about his interpersonal discovery—Pavel Grachev—they worked together in Geneva to conclude the START II treaty, which, in Andrey Kozyrev's view, is a guarantee of security until the end of this century. The issue of strategic weapons. Those were brief conclusions from the conversation we are now ending, and we thank you for your kind visit to our studio.

A belated Happy New Year. Merry Christmas. And here's wishing you successful work.

[Kozyrev] Happy New Year and Merry Christmas. Thank you.

Deputy Foreign Minister's Article

MK0601173193 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 2, 10 Jan 93 (Signed to Press 29 Dec 92) p 7

[Article by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Mamedov under the "Three Authors" rubric: "Breakthrough Was Achieved in Geneva"]

[Text] The Moscow summit meeting between Yeltsin and Bush, and the signing of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START II) were the culmination of six months' work on this most important Russian-U.S. agreement.

The main parameters of the reductions on which agreement was reached with the U.S. side are well known: Before 2003 both sides will cut the sum total of their nuclear weapons [boyezaryady] by two-thirds to 3,000-3,500 units. All MIRVed ICBM's—the main weapon of a first nuclear strike—are to be destroyed. I want to stress right away that this treaty is advantageous to us from the political, military, and economic viewpoints. What exactly did Russia manage to achieve?

First: We were able to agree on not eliminating our heavy ICBM launch silos by means of an explosion, on which the Americans had long insisted, and on converting some of them for "Topol"-type single-warhead missiles. These evidently will become the basis of our future strategic force grouping. Naturally this is far cheaper than constructing new silos and is 40 percent cheaper than converting launch silos for other types we already have.

I want to note that the U.S. side showed considerable flexibility here. Up to the last moment, including at the highest level, there was talk of retaining 75 of these launch silos. Only during the last conversation among Eagleburger, Kozyrev, and Grachev in Geneva did the United States agree to our keeping 90 such silos. According to our military experts, this safeguards our plans to retain a land-based strategic force grouping.

However, the main result, which was achieved at the very last moment, concerns strategic bombers. The Americans now will have to change their strategic force grouping considerably.

This means qualitatively better terms for Russia compared with the START I Treaty, which incidentally, the Supreme Soviet passed by an overwhelming majority. After all, under that treaty the Americans could have had practically 9,000 warheads in nuclear bombers, whereas we would have had 5,000.

Under the new treaty the United States also must substantially reduce weapons in the most important component of its nuclear triad—submarines. The number of ballistic missiles on them must be cut from 3,500 to a level of 1,700-1,750 units.

Finally, for the first time the treaty introduces an element of economic assistance for disarmament. This refers to U.S. agreement to help us—both financially and by devising and using the appropriate technologies—to physically destroy weapons.

Naturally, I would not like to create the impression that the treaty was achieved only thanks to the U.S. side's flexibility. We too have taken a number of major steps—primarily toward eliminating heavy ICBM's, which represented the main threat to the United States. It must be borne in mind here, however, that our heavy ICBM's were produced in Ukraine. It is now impossible to plan the core of one's defense potential by relying on procurements, from an albeit friendly but nonetheless foreign power, and furthermore for foreign currency, but to reconstruct a base for the production of heavy ICBM's in Russia itself takes billions, which we cannot lay our hands on.

As a direct participant in the talks I can say that the work on the treaty signifies a new level of partnership and trust between Russia and the United States. Before Geneva, for example, it was simply impossible to believe that the Americans would agree to give us the opportunity, within the monitoring procedures, to inspect their B-2 Stealth bomber. Nevertheless, that is what they did.

It seems to us that the Americans felt that both our team and theirs worked harmoniously, with no division into military personnel and civilians. This was the coordinated work of the Foreign Ministry, the Defense Ministry, and—at the concluding stage—Supreme Soviet representatives.

And last: We hope that the signing of the treaty will help to overcome the uncertainty that continues to exist in the approach of Ukraine, and to a certain extent Kazakhstan, toward nuclear weapons, and that it will create the necessary atmosphere for our neighbors to fulfill their pledge to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as nonnuclear states.

Deputy Defense Minister Interviewed

OW0601203493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1902 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Deputy Defence Minister Andrey Kokoshin in an interview with INTERFAX on Wednesday said the Start-II treaty did not contravene the optimal structure of the country's nuclear deterrence.

He said that while forming its position at the Start-2 negotiations, the Defence Ministry had tried to visualise the composition of Russia's nuclear forces in the years 2005-2010. The projected make up of the forces, he said, is optimal and falls largely within the framework of the Start-II agreement signed in Moscow on January 3.

Under the treaty, Russia forfeits its powerful SS-18 long range missiles but rids itself of the dangerous magnet inviting a pre-emptive nuclear strike. Kokoshin says that two enemy warheads would have been sufficient to destroy a silo hiding a ten-warhead SS-18 missile in the event of a first strike, which is quite a good bargain. But with single warhead missiles on both sides, any preemptive strike is meaningless, he said.

The Defence Ministry believes that the main rub is the process of destroying nuclear weapons. It cannot be said with a fair amount of certainty, Kokoshin went on to say, that fairly effective technologies are available to do so, and it is a matter of money and time before these are developed.

On strategic bombers, Kokoshin said this component of the strategic forces was worse-hit. He said it was most unlikely that Russia would be able to raise money to meet ceilings set under the Start-II treaty, since the manufacturing cost of a strategic bomber had become very high. Although the Americans have a lot of bombers, Kokoshin said, they have also had to curtail the production of bomber aircraft in recent times.

The minister expressed satisfaction that long-range submarine-launched missiles were now available.

Kokoshin does not expect any substantial cost-saving from the destruction of nuclear weapons, saying the cost would be rather high in the first years of disarmament but would fall later since less spending would be needed for a smaller nuclear force. However, the savings will be used for research and updating purposes.

Armed Forces Chief of Staff Cited

LD0601143993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1406 GMT 6 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—The drastic cuts in strategic offensive weapons envisaged by the START-2 Treaty signed in Moscow by the Russian and U.S. Presidents early in January will not affect the Russian security as the remaining number of warheads is enough for an efficient deterrence force, according to chief of staff of the Russian Armed Forces Mikhail Kolesnikov.

The nuclear potential of both sides will decrease by three times, according to preliminary estimates, and the cuts will be accompanied by structural changes in the strategic forces of the United States and Russia, he told reporters on Wednesday.

By eliminating MIRV[ed] ICBMs the parties to the treaty get rid of the dangerous temptation of the first preventive strike. Besides, the Russian MIRV[ed] ICBMs are to be decomissioned in 10-15 years and they had to be anyway eliminated, he added.

Russia retains the basis of its nuclear might which is comprised by ground-based nuclear missiles. However, heavy missiles with 10 warheads will be replaced by missiles with one warhead which both sides view as a stabilisation factor, the chief of staff said.

The armaments of the SS-19 missiles will also be reduced to one warhead which will allow to keep 105 missiles of the type in the Russian strategic force, he added.

Although Americans first insisted on complete elimination of all silo launchers for heavy ICBMs, Russia succeeded to agree in the treaty on a possibility of using 90 silos for new single-warhead missiles after the silos are reequipped in such a way so that former heavy missiles cannot be deployed in them. This would save Russia some two billion rubles (in 1992 prices), Kolesnikov said.

The basis of the U.S. nuclear might—the strategic bombers—will also undergo considerable changes. The United States agreed to really, and not conditionally as envisaged by START-1, to count all nuclear charges deployed on heavy bombers. This eliminates all ways of bypassing the provisions of the new treaty, he added.

The START-1 envisaged that U.S. heavy bombers armed with long-range cruise missiles have ten charges while the planes can carry 25 missiles. This allowed the United States to exceed the 6-thousand limit of nuclear charges by 2-2.5 thousand pieces thanks to their strategic bombers. Now the possibility is excluded, the chief of staff explained.

The START-2 also envisages a major reduction of U.S. sea-based nuclear charges: by three times compared to the existing level and by two times compared to the level allowed by the START-1. In question are the latest "Trident-2" missiles, Kolesnikov said.

The START-2 limits the number of charges on heavy bombers by 850- 1250 pieces which would make the United States cut its air-based nuclear weapons, Kolesnikov said.

He said that the two countries which move towards a lower level of nuclear armaments have the right to expect that other nuclear states—Great Britain, France and China—will join nuclear disarmament talks in future.

He also added that Russia, while reducing its strategic forces, takes into account the commitments of both countries under the ABM Treaty which limits the deployment of anti-missile systems aimed at eliminating offensive weapons and thus remains the basis of strategic stability.

The cuts envisaged by the START-2 will cost Russia considerably less than the maintenance of the nuclear systems until they are to be decommissioned. Besides, the elimination expenses will be considerably reduced thanks to cooperation with the United States in designing corresponding technologies. The United States pledged to render financial help to Russia for the elimination of strategic offensive weapons, the chief of staff said

Russian nuclear forces will not be a "mirror reflection" of the U.S. ones under the START-2, Kolesnikov said, adding, however, that certain moves in this direction will take place. Thus, Russia will, most evidently, increase the sea-based component of its strategic force. This concerns, first and foremost, submarine-based ballistic missiles, he disclosed.

While signing the START-2, both sides realised that it may come into force after Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan ratify the START-1 and join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as nuclear-free states. A draft agreement on the status of strategic forces deployed in Ukraine was forwarded to the Ukrainian Defence Ministry, Kolesnikov said, adding that the draft says that nuclear weapons should have a definite state-owner.

Ukraine cannot provide for reliable maintenance of nuclear charges and "we do not need that our neighbour, the fraternal people has a chance of a new Chernobyl," he added.

Prominent Deputies Comment

PM0601171193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 6 Jan 93 p 1

[Comments by Anatoliy Shabad, coordinator of the Radical Democrats parliamentary faction; Iona Andronov, member of the Supreme Soviet and deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations; and Lev Ponomarev, member of the Supreme Soviet and cochairman of the Democratic Russia movement: "START II: The Presidents Have Reached Agreement. The World Public Has Given Its Backing. It Is Now Up to the U.S. Congress and the Russian Parliament"]

[Text] [Shabad] The timing of the treaty's signing was very fortunate for our side, as it seems that Bush, as he quits the scene, very much needed to sign something and this would have forced the Americans to make concessions on many questions. Our parliament will of course get on its high horse and claim that parity has been upset. Such talk is ludicrous—what parity can there be if the United States is far stronger economically! Back in 1985, when the talks on SDI began, it was already clear that we had lost the arms race, we did not have the strength for a new round. I think that several such agreements will be concluded in the next 10 years; after all, a very large number of weapons will remain, even though all the cuts are already aimed at disposing of obsolete types of weapons. In general, as a physicist, I have to realize that each coin has its reverse side, since no one will spend so much money on science if it is not dictated by reasons of security, although it has to be acknowledged that this money has been spent in far from the best way...

[Andronov] I am at a loss as to why such an important document was prepared in an atmosphere of secrecy away from parliament, the public, and the press. But the main point is that the treaty does raise quite a few serious doubts, which clearly will be very intensively debated prior to ratification. On 25 December last the chairmen of the three leading parliamentary committees and commissions—the Committee for Defense and Security, the Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, and the Commission for the Budget, Plans, Taxes, and Prices—sent an appeal to the president of Russia in which they asked him to refrain from signing the treaty, "which in its current form could generate unnecessary extra tension in society."

I subscribed to that opinion. Of course a comprehensive assessment of the treaty can only be given by specialists. But the shortcomings are, to put it mildly, visible even at first blush. Yes, we are cutting our arsenal of nuclear charges to 3,000 while the United States is cutting back to 3,500. But it is not, after all, just a question of the quantity of projectiles but the quality of the systems for delivering them to their target: Those who have the better ones obtain an advantage. Moreover, all ground-launched MIRVed ICBM's are to be destroyed. Fantastic, but 70 percent of our arsenal is made up of this class of ground-launched missile, the U.S. figure is a little over 20 percent, but 60 percent of their multiple-warhead missiles are based on submarines! Thus it turns out that we are losing almost all our arsenal of such missiles, while the other side is losing only half.

Therefore during ratification in parliament amendments will possibly be introduced which could rectify the situation—if not the text of the treaty itself than at least the detailed protocols. And our president is not right when he says that those deputies "who are against everything positive," the "supporters of Iraq" will criticize the document. I have never been a supporter of Iraq or a supporter of the arms race, but it is inadmissible that we should remain naked.

[Ponomarev] I regard the signing of this treaty as a real breakthrough. The treaty will go down in history in decades to come when today's political flurry has abated. A threefold cut in nuclear arsenals is no mere rhetoric. The treaty reduces many times over the likelihood of nuclear war, including the likelihood of a war by accident, which regrettable though it be, has more chance of starting in such poorly controlled structures as the republics of the former USSR.

Of course criticism of the document is issuing from various quarters now. But I do assure our president and the ministers of defense and foreign affairs that both sides have made compromises. It is natural that deputies will give themselves airs and take the opportunity yet again to show their independence during ratification. But I am surprised that Yevgeniy Kozhokin, who signed with me the Democratic Russia policy documents, where disarmament and conversion figure among the basic tasks, should have opposed the treaty on the grounds that people working in the military-industrial complex will lose their jobs. Those plants need to be converted, what is more it will be cheaper for society even if those workers simply go on receiving their wages than if they were to continue producing lethal weapons.

Opposition Party News Conference

OW0601135493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1204 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The ratification of the START-2 Treaty should not be discussed in the Russian parliament before Russia's foreign policy and defense concepts are drafted, leader of the Russian Unity parliamentary alliance, Sergey Baburin, announced during a press conference on Wednesday.

He said that in the opinion of the opposition, Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who accelerated the conclusion of the treaty, occupies his post illegally.

The participants in the press conference expressed their concern about the hasty conclusion of the START-2 treaty. People's Deputy Mikhail Astafyev said that this reflects the American and Russian presidents' and the Russian foreign minister's intention to sign the START-2 treaty while they are in power. He also noted that all this haste makes the impression that momentary success is more important for the US president than long-term relations with Russia.

Astafyev stressed that in principle, the opposition does not object to reductions in nuclear weapons. The Russian Unity will formulate its final position on the ratification of the START-2 treaty after the text of the treaty is studied by experts, said Astafyev.

Kazakhstani Foreign Minister Welcomes START II

OW0601162693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1558 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The START-2 agreement signed in Moscow recently "guarantees stable peace in the future and poses a constructive contribution to the efforts to ensure security on the part of the Russian and American presidents". This statement was made by the Kazakh Foreign Minister, Tuleutai Suleymenov, at a press conference given in Alma-Ata on the results of a conference held by the leaders of the Asian members of the CIS in Tashkent.

At the initiative of the Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, he said, the conference decided that diplomatic relations will be established between the Central Asian republics of the former USSR by early February.

Belarus Foreign Minister Welcomes START II Treaty

LD0601165593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1554 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Tatyana Khryapina for TASS]

[Text] Minsk January 6 TASS—Belarus genuinely strives to become a neutral, nuclear-free state and welcomes the Russian-U.S. START-2 Treaty, according to Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko.

All tactical nuclear weapons were transferred to Russia from Belarus last year. It was agreed that strategic nuclear arms will be transferred in the coming seven years, however, Belarus decided to accelerate the operation despite all financial difficulties, he told BELINFORM on Wednesday.

Kravchenko called on all other former Soviet nuclear states to abide by the same principled position. The START-2 should become a multilateral treaty, he added.

"Our ideal is the creation of a nuclear-free belt in Central Europe which would cover the Scandinavian countries in the north, the Baltic states, Ukraine, as well as East and Central European states. The first steps towards the goal have already been made by us," he said.

Among the foreign policy priorities Kravchenko listed the intention of Belarus to refrain from participation in any military- political unions or blocs. However, "Belarus can become truly neutral only when there are no blocs in a new Europe, when NATO will disappear as the Warsaw Treaty did, when free travel of people, ideas, capital, goods and services will become an everyday reality," the minister said.

Another major foreign policy goal is the integration of the republic into the European Community and the strengthening of the Commonwealth as the "only existing form of economic survival," he said.

Belarus is also ready to mount its peace-keeping efforts in the U.N. framework, the minister stressed, recalling that the republic has agreed to hold the CSCE conference on Nagorno-Karabakh.

Newspapers Examine Signing of START II Treaty

Significance, Speedy Implementation Noted

PM0601125793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 93 p 3

[Vladimir Kuzar article: "For the Sake of a Future Free From Fear. Russian-U.S. START II Treaty Signed in Moscow"]

[Text] The start of 1993 has been marked by an event of great panhuman significance. This was the signing in Moscow on 3 January of the Treaty between the Russian Federation and the United States on the Further Reduction and Limitation on Strategic Offensive Armaments (the START II Treaty). This was done by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President George Bush in the Kremlin's Vladimir Hall in the presence of officials of the two countries and of a large detachment of journalists: Russian and foreign photojournalists and television reporters, both those accredited in Moscow and those who had come specially to the white-stone city. According to now-established tradition, the two presidents not only exchanged the pens with which they signed the treaty but also raised a glass of champagne in honor of the event.

I believe the new treaty is worth it, for under it the two major nuclear powers have pledged to reduce their strategic weapons arsenals by two-thirds of the present level by 2003. At the same time such a destabilizing type of weapon as heavy ICBM's with multiple reentry vehicles will be totally eliminated. As Boris Yeltsin emphasized during the news conference held after signing the START II Treaty, in terms of its scale and significance the treaty "surpasses all other treaties ever signed on questions of disarmament" and "becomes a linchpin of the system of guarantees for global security." George Bush pointed out that the treaty "reverses the policy that posed a threat to many people and made them fear that a nuclear catastrophe was inevitable."

Here I would like to emphasize that the START II Treaty was prepared in a record short time: just six months (for comparison, it took 15 years to draw up its predecessor, the START I Treaty). This certainly does not mean, however, that work on the new agreement proceeded easily. Approximately 50 specialists and experts on the Russian side and almost as many on the U.S. side sought to draw it up in such a way that it would ensure the reliable security both of Russia and of the United States without infringing the interests of the partner or giving advantages to either of them.

It was far from easy to do this. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA wrote of the "exclusively technical problems," which seemed insoluble only a few weeks ago. It was only in the Geneva talks—with the participation of Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation defense minister; Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev; and his U.S. colleague, Lawrence Eagleburger—that the final knots were unraveled. Observers point out that this was largely thanks to the Russian defense minister's active position, which enabled the sides to make compromises, and in the final analysis, to submit the treaty for signing.

I will not focus readers' attention on the new agreement's numerical characteristics. Many of them have been set out in the mass media already. We also publish today an account of its main provisions. In addition, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA plans to provide a number of articles in which specialists explain the essence of the treaty. I will cite just one more comment by Boris Yeltsin with an assessment of the treaty: "As president and supreme commander in chief," he emphasized at the news conference, "I can state perfectly unequivocally that the treaty that has been signed does not weaken but strengthens Russia's security. I believe that President Bush can make a similar statement concerning U.S. security."

Nevertheless, fears that a difficult fate awaits the START II Treaty have appeared already. To some extent this mood was manifested in journalists' questions put to the two presidents. For example, what attitude to the agreement will be taken by the the new U.S. Administration, which did not sign it, but will be obliged to fulfill it? Or by the U.S. Congress, the composition of which has been considerably renewed? George Bush declared in reply that his successor supports the process of nuclear disarmament and that he sees no particular difficulties over ratification of the treaty in Congress. Boris Yeltsin expressed the same hope. He believes that there must be no pauses in Russian-U.S. relations. The Russian president has already sent Bill Clinton a proposal to hold a meeting on neutral territory in the near future and to discuss the prospect of cooperation between the two countries.

As for ratification of the treaty in the Russian parliament, the agreement has both supporters and critics, so the Russian Federation president remarked. The critics, to judge from certain articles, maintain, for example, that the need to restructure the Russian strategic forces after the U.S. pattern is a serious shortcoming of the treaty. This is said not only to reduce their effectiveness, but also to incur tremendous material costs. The critics cite other considerations too.

Supporters of the START II Treaty, in turn, declare that the guarantee period for the operation of Russian heavy missiles expires by the year 2000, but the main production base for such missiles and their control systems is located on Ukrainian territory. So the missiles will have to be destroyed in any case. Is it not better to do this along with the U.S. ones? It is also an important fact that the replacement of multiple-warhead missiles by single-warhead missiles considerably reduces the possible aggressor's incentive for making a disarming strike, for it is not 10 but one nuclear charge that is destroyed.

When speaking of the fate of the START II Treaty, mention must be made of the position of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and

Ukraine. Without their accession to the START I Treaty and the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, there can be no question of realizing the new agreement, which is inseparably linked to the previous one. These states, however, particularly Ukraine, are increasingly clearly displaying a tendency to delay the process of parting with nuclear weapons and to secure some political and economic dividends with their help.

These are the first impressions from familiarization with the START II Treaty, which according to George Bush, "signifies a future far more free from fear." This is seen as the high moral purport of the new agreement. It is an agreement that not only leads to a significant reduction of nuclear arsenals, but also undoubtedly will serve to develop close cooperation, partnership, and strong friendship between the two great peoples.

'Legitimate Questions' Aired

PM0701100193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 93 p 1

[Article by Viktor Linnik: "START II: Nine Questions on Christmas Eve"]

[Text] Who would dispute it— disarmament is a good thing, no doubt about it. Let us take advantage of the Christmas "goodwill to all men" and not reject START II out of hand just because the document was prepared by A. Kozyrev. Who knows, maybe it will go down in the annals of world diplomacy as the acme of Kozyrev's intellect, comparable only with the genius of Seward, the U.S. secretary of state who bought Alaska from Russia for $7 million. In fact, back then, in 1867, ungrateful Americans called the deal "folly"—only to see the wisdom of it several generations later. The idea that "no prophet is accepted in his own country" applied even then!

Sure, the haste with which the summit meeting and the signing of START II in the Kremlin were arranged create a sense of awkwardness, of a poorly directed show, a rush job. Gusman did a better job of organizing KVN [popular Russian TV show] than Kozyrev did of his own, as loyal journalists hastened to record, finest diplomatic spectacle.

Let us try to start not by denouncing this hastily arranged schedule for the destruction of the two countries' nuclear weapons, but rather by asking some legitimate questions that come to mind:

1. Can a country as demoralized as Russia is today actually conclude an **equal** treaty with the world's leading power, which, by its own admission, won the cold war? In fact not even Dudayev listens to Russia today. If so, then the Kozyrev-Yeltsin feat will live on.

2. Are there examples in history of treaties whose implementation has required financial and other assistance from the other side? This usually happens only in the case of agreements on reparations after total and unconditional capitulation.

3. Is it wise, in accordance with START II, to rearrange the Russian nuclear triad on the American model? That is, destroy around 5,000 warheads on our ground-based ICBMs, which will result in a fantastic, incalculable burden for a Russian economy that is on its last legs?

4. Is it true that Kozyrev's team is 10 times smarter than its predecessors on Smolenskaya Square? After all, as the Russian president said, the previous agreement took 15 years, but the new team had the matter sewn up in just a few months. If so, then Russia is lucky indeed. Or should we be talking about some other qualities of the new generation of rulers of Russia's foreign policy destiny?

5. Why, in that case, did our "quick-witted Newtons" not manage to get the treaty set up before the U.S. elections and thus provide Yeltsin's "friend George" with some certain trump cards on election day?

6. If the timing was deliberate, then why did they not wait another two weeks and deal with Clinton? In any case, the new U.S. Administration is going to look at the treaty afresh.

7. How realistic is a treaty on the reduction of nuclear armaments anyway without the involvement of Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan? It is true that the Ukrainian president has confirmed his country's intention to be nonnuclear. Only he did not say **when**. But by 2003 Ukraine's nuclear potential will easily match Russia's.

8. Are the Foreign Ministry's increasingly obvious anti-Ukrainian noises over the START II Treaty in Russia's national interests? Or does the treaty give the new Russian companions of the United States a unique opportunity to don the garb of great-power chauvinists? Should we forget that we have lived in union with Ukraine for over 300 years, whereas it was only a little over a year ago that we found a "partner" in the United States?

9. Finally, after the conclusion of the treaty do we feel safer than we did yesterday, as the chorus of exultant supporters of the present Russian Government claim? Go out onto the streets of any Russian city after 10 in the evening and you will get your answer.

Prospects for Implementation Viewed

PM0601125393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Jan 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Sergey Demidov and Vladimir Kuznechevskiy: "START II: The Two Presidents' New Year Gift"]

[Text] The first major international event of the new year was undoubtedly the signing of the Treaty on the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Armaments (START II), to which the presidents of Russia and the United States put their seal in Moscow 3 January.

The text of the document and the appendices to it will certainly be analyzed and commented on intensively by

specialists and holders of the most diverse views for months to come. But the initial impressions can and must be conveyed now, while the scent is still warm.

Some analysts have already drawn attention to the strange haste with which this unprecedented treaty was signed. They ask the reasonable question: What was the cause of it? Was it Boris Yeltsin wanting to come across as a strong head of state, after his image had been tarnished somewhat at the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies late last year? Why not wait for U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton to officially take up his post, since he, rather than George Bush, will be determining the face of America in all respects for the next four years at least? Especially since the inauguration ceremony—when he will be sworn in as the 42d White House incumbent in U.S. history—was little more than two weeks away?

As for the U.S. side, to all appearances the deciding factor was a subjective one: George Bush is in his final days in the White House and, naturally, he would like to round off his presidency with an effective political gambit.

But the plot is that, according to the available information, it was not the U.S. side at all, but the Russian side that hastened events.

Reports started issuing from Moscow in late December to the effect that B. Yeltsin had already agreed with G. Bush on a meeting in Alaska or in Sochi, at which a document drastically reducing armaments would be signed. From Washington there issued... denials of this news, what is more, from the lips of very senior figures in the U.S. President's administration.

For instance, on 19 December B. Yeltsin announced that Russia and the United States had reached an accord on plans to cut their strategic nuclear arsenals by two-thirds and that a START II Treaty would be signed at the beginning of January. But, as the BBC reported that same day, U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger said that he personally had no knowledge of any final accord having been reached on the text of a treaty and the possibility of its being concluded in January was entirely hypothetical. The VOA noted that the Russian leader's statement on the imminent signing of the document had seemingly taken the U.S. Administration unawares. One White House aide stated frankly: "It's news to us."

Right up until 25 December the White House denied Russian news agencies' reports about a scheduled meeting between the two presidents at the beginning of January in Sochi to sign the treaty.

But Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev then went to Geneva for talks with L. Eagleburger and said that he was prepared to bet a bottle of whiskey that the meeting between the two presidents would take place and the treaty would "come into being." It was clear that Russia had brought to Switzerland proposals which the U.S. side would be bound to consider acceptable even at such short notice. In fact, after the meeting with A. Kozyrev, L. Eagleburger declared on 27 December that the terms proposed by Russia were acceptable and the treaty could be signed at the beginning of the new year.

What were these proposals by Moscow which the Americans could not resist?

It is well known that ICBM's, first with one, and then with multiple warheads, were the USSR's main means of deterrence since the days of Nikita Khrushchev. Now Moscow had agreed to eliminate these MIRVed ICBM's, with each of the warheads aimed at a different target, proposing to replace them with single-warhead ICBM's. This was the key element in its proposals. And it was so attractive to Washington that the Americans even agreed to cut their arsenal of air-launched nuclear weapons, which were always the Soviet military's major worry.

We are not going to analyze the published text of the treaty. That will be done later. But one thing can be said now: We will see in the very near future whether this treaty is good or bad (and whether it is going to be implemented at all). But the very fact that the document has been signed opens up fundamentally new opportunities for genuinely peaceful cooperation between Russia and the West. In all probability, this is what motivated the Russian president and it is this that explains the urgency of the treaty preparations. Hard work now will reap benefits later.

On the one hand, the leaders of many states have already welcomed the "historic document" signed in the Moscow Kremlin in the most exultant tones. On the other hand, the initial commentaries in various media organs clearly strike a note of caution. The majority of writers note that for the first time we on earth have a real chance to reduce the massive dimensions of the nuclear powder keg on which the world has been sitting for nearly half a century.

The prospects of a two-thirds reduction of the Russian and U.S. nuclear arsenals over the next seven years are clouded, experts believe, by the mass of problems associated, in particular, with the economic, ecological, and technical aspects of dismantling deadly warheads and monitoring their destruction.

Another question is the fact that folowing the breakup of the Soviet Union, which, together with the United States, had the lion's share of the nuclear weapons (95 percent of world stocks), strategic missiles were scattered over four of its former republics—the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. The views of the last three about how they should acquire their future nonnuclear status are very different. And Moscow simply has no right to, indeed it cannot, leave their positions out of the reckoning.

There is particular concern, not only in the Russian capital but in Western capitals as well, over Kiev's approach to resolving this acute question. Ukrainian

politicians are highly suspicious of all the Russian leadership's declarations about the need for radical nuclear disarmament. It was no accident that Ukrainian Ambassador to Moscow Vladimir Kryzhanovskiy said at the end of December that his country's parliament would ratify the START I Treaty, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush back in July 1991, only after there has been a detailed expert appraisal of all the provisions. According to Konstantin Grishchenko, chief of the republic Foreign Ministry Arms Limitation and Disarmament Problems Department, not all of its provisions reflect the current interests of Ukraine, which would like to obtain certain security guarantees. There has been no progress so far on the solution of the question posed by Kiev, which is insisting that the components of nuclear materials obtained following the elimination of nuclear missiles on its territory and of those that will be removed to Russia for that pourpose be regarded as its property. It also wants to make sure that strategic offensive armaments from outside (that is, from Russia) cannot be used from Ukrainian territory without its government's consent and it is asking the West for credits to dismantle and transport missiles. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has just comfirmed all these terms in a television statement.

You do not have to be an oracle to see that our southern Slavic neighbor's reaction to the Russian-U.S. START II Treaty could be critical, to put it mildly. And the discussion of this topic between Moscow and Kiev will be a difficult one.

As for the hopes that, following the ratification of the START II Treaty, Russia and the United States will immediately be joined in the "disarmament race" by the three remaining powers—Britain, France, and China—they are illusory. Neither John Major, nor Francois Mitterrand, nor Jiang Zemin or any other senior Chinese leader has said his piece as yet. And they are hardly likely in the next few years to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by Russia and the United States. Indeed, London, Paris, and Beijing believe that their nuclear arsenals are trifling even compared with the Russian and U.S. ones reduced in accordance with the START II Treaty.

So the polemical battle over the documents is obviously going to be hard. The Russian parliament will not be able to avoid it either.

Gen Ivashov Discusses Composition of CIS Armed Forces

LD0601152393 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Text] The Unified Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States are still in the making a year after being formed. General Leonid Ivashov of the CIS Defense Ministers' Council dwells upon the compostion and the future of the forces:

[Begin recording] [Ivashov in Russian fading to English translation] The unified forces are made up of nuclear weapons, collective peacekeeping forces, and a newly emerging contingent for the prevention of conflicts at CIS external borders.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is the numerical strength of the CIS forces?

[Ivashov] Troop numbers are yet to be defined, given that CIS member states, particularly Ukraine, are largely at odds even on the strength of the strategic forces.

[Correspondent] Are there any differences on who is to be in charge of the strategic nuclear weapons, Ukraine or Kazakhstan in particular?

[Ivashov] Differences do exist following a unilateral decision by Ukraine on administrative control of nuclear arms deployed on its territory. The question of the future and control of the former Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal will go on the agenda of the next CIS summit in the light of uncertainties about the future of such destructive weapons as ICBMs.

[Correspondent] Are nuclear weapons under safe control?

[Ivashov] The existing automated systems and organizational structures are capable of blocking any unauthorized use of the strategic weapons.

[Correspondent] In which way are the nuclear weapons split between the unified CIS forcs and signatory states?

[Ivashov] Russia has its own nuclear stockpile including long-range missiles, but the interests of the three other nuclear states—that is, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan—are represented by the chief command of the CIS forces, which insists it must be solely in charge of the CIS nuclear forces and represent the interests of those three republics under coordinated CIS nuclear policy.

[Correspondent] How soon is the CIS force likely to play a peacekeeping role in CIS member countries, similar to that of the UN peace contingent?

[Ivashov] The chief command of the CIS forces will be in charge of the organization's peacekeeping contingent which is yet to be established. Although differences do exist, I am sure that such a force will eventually be set up. [end recording]

Russian Candidates for Fleet Commander Identified

LD3112232092 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] The NOVYNY television and radio agency has managed to learn from reliable sources who the Russian side is putting forward for the post of commander of the unified Black Sea Fleet for the transitional period. These are three representatives of the admiral corps of Russia: Vice Admirals Eduard Baltin, Anatoliy Oleynik, and Vladimir Kalabin. The first two are instructors in the system of Russian military academies, and Vladimir Kalabin is a cadre seaman. He is currently first deputy commander of the Pacific Fleet. As far as Ukraine's proposals for the post of commander of the Fleet on the Black Sea are concerned, they have not been put forward as yet. This is stated by the press service of our national Ministry of Defense.

Baltin Likely Choice

OW0401191593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vice-Admiral Baltin is likely to become Commander-in-Chief of the Black Sea Fleet allied command, the deputy chief of a department of the Ukrainian Navy Captain 1st Class Anatoliy Danilov has told a news conference in Zaporozhye. Earlier Baltin served in the Pacific and then taught at the Academy of the General Staff in Moscow.

Central Asian Defense Ministers To Meet in Alma-Ata 15 Jan

OW0601145793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1423 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On January 15, the defense ministers of the Central Asian republics will gather in Alma-Ata to discuss the situation in Tajikistan and ways of settling the armed conflict.

According to well-informed sources, experts believe that this conflict may be qualified as intra-regional, in view of which, the states of the region will try to settle it without military assistance from the CIS.

The same sources assert, however, that the defense ministers welcome further presence of Russia's 201st division in Tajikistan. The Tajik leaders stated on several occasions that the presence of this division is a stabilizing factor.

Kazakhstan's Defense Minister Taleutai Suleymenov noted during a press conference on Tuesday [5 January] that in the middle of January the Kazakh parliament will decide whether Kazakh servicemen will join the international peace-keeping force in Tajikistan.

Central Asian Accord Said Result of 'Natural Process'

PM0601202093 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 1

[Georgiy Melikyants report: "Five Former Republics of the Soviet Union Are Moving Toward a New Union. What Will This Mean?"]

[Text] The conference of leaders of the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan held in Tashkent and its decisions were both unexpected and long-awaited. Unexpected because there had been no announcement about the preparation of such a conference beforehand. As Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev said before the beginning of the meeting, agreement on it was only reached at the end of last year in Ankara. At the same time, the idea of such a meeting and the meaning of the adopted decisions were somehow in the air from the moment of the formation of the CIS.

Even then there was talk of the possibility of uniting the "Muslim republics" of the former USSR to counterbalance the union of the "Slav republics." Life has shown that there is no "Slav bloc;" indeed the conditions for its formation are not present. Quite different realities, primarily the collapse of former close economic and cultural ties, have increasingly worried each of the republics that has become independent. Separation at all levels could not continue indefinitely, and the present step being taken by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan is most likely an enforced one, intended to protect the interests of the peoples of a region in which, all indications suggest, there is still a hope of putting an end to the further unraveling of ties, above all economic ties.

Today it is difficult to talk about the details of the proposed measures to strengthen mutually advantageous economic and humanitarian ties based on equal rights among the sovereign states of the region. At the moment all that is known is that they anaylzed progress in implementing bilateral and multilateral treaties and trade and economic agreements among them. Such agreements also exist between other CIS states, but, frankly, you cannot say of all of them with the same degree of certainty as there is in the joint Tashkent communique that they "have become the basis of the constructive resolution of political, economic, social, and humanitarian problems, including a certain mitigation of the consequences of the decline in production, inflation, and the drop in the population's living standards." The words "mitigation of the consequences" are very important here, since this circumstance seems to really exist. The agreement on the elaboration of a concrete mechanism for the permanent monitoring of the observance of interstate and intergovernmental treaties and agreements is also worthy of attention. It is this that we all miss so painfully today.

The Tashkent decisions are the result of a natural process, based on the "eternal" foundation of a common destiny and geographical position and, on the other hand, the "demands of the moment," such as the need for the normal functioning of the national economic mechanism and political stabilization. We Russians understand our close southern neighbors' steps, having quite a few similar problems of our own. Russia is undoubtedly in favor of close collaboration among the Central Asian states and Kazakhstan, or, as they have now ceremonially called themselves, the states of Central Asia [Tsentralnaya Aziya].

Russia and Central Asia have very major long-term interests—economic and geopolitical interests, and also interests connected with the fate of millions of Russians and people of other nationalities, many generations of whom have been born in that region and have not only worked for its development but also absorbed the spiritual values of the indigenous population.

The leaders who gathered in Tashkent specially singled out the connection between their subsequent actions and the results of the upcoming meeting of CIS heads of state in Minsk. President Karimov of Uzbekistan expressed his opposition to the claim that the CIS has come to the end of its useful life. He spoke resolutely in favor of the preservation of a single ruble zone and assessed the possibility of leaving it as "undesirable."

The situation in Tajikistan was also naturally examined. The role played by the northern neighbors of this long-suffering country, as well as Russia, in separating the warring sides is known. Today the most realistic condition for ending the fratricidal war is possibly the introduction of peacemaking forces into Tajikistan. And a great deal depends here on the states of Central Asia, which have committed themselves to grant all possible assistance to the Tajik people.

Yeltsin To Meet Ter-Petrosyan 10 Jan, Kravchuk 15 Jan

OW0601191993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1742 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] INTERFAX has learned, on Wednesday [6 January] (approximately at 23:30) the Russian President, Boris Yeltsin, will be present at the Christmas service in the Moscow Epiphany Cathedral (the Yelokhovskaya Church).

According to the available information, the Russian President is scheduled to meet with the Armenian President, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, on January 10. He will probably receive the leadership of the Fund of Sores the same day.

Boris Yeltsin is expected to meet with the Ukrainian President, Leonid Kravchuk, on January 15.

Kozyrev Warns of 'Hostile Nations' on Eve of Northern Tour

LD0601124293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0951 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—"Attempts by the conservatives to 'extinguish' any conflict would lead to bloodshed, and a new 'sanitary cordon', comprised of hostile nations, would appear around Russia," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told the newspaper "NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA". A summary of his interview is published in today's issue of the daily. Kozyrev was interviewed on the eve of Kozyrev's 7-day tour of Murmansk (northern Russia), Norway, Finland and France, scheduled to start on January 9.

The foreign minister is expected to meet commanders of the Severomorsk naval base near Murmansk and to make a statement there on the START-2 Treaty. He will have talks with his Norwegian counterpart Thorvald Stoltenberg at Bodo, Norway. Then both ministers will take part in a meeting of foreign ministers from countries washed by the Barents Sea at the NATO naval base of Kirkenes.

Kozyrev believes his statement in Stockholm was necessary, the newspaper notes, because, in his opinion, Russia's Western partners, who are at times disposed to reasonable and sometimes to more than reasonable egoism, should be "wakened up". At the same time, Kozyrev is far from considering himself to be a total adherent of shock therapy in foreign policy of the kind applied in domestic policy by ex-premier Yegor Gaydar.

Tour Previewed

OW0601164993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1558 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Foreign Minister, Andrey Kozyrev, is planning to fly to Murmansk on Saturday, January 9, DP [Diplomatic Panorama] was told by Galina Sidorova, adviser to the head of Russian diplomacy. According to her, in Murmansk A. Kozyrev will confer with the local leaders and representatives of business circles. The same day A. Kozyrev will inspect the Russian naval base in Severomorsk, meet with the sailors and brief them on the results of the Russian-American summit held in Moscow and on the START-2 agreement.

Saturday evening A. Kozyrev will leave for the Norwegian city of Bodo, where on Sunday, January 10, he'll confer with his Norwegian counterpart, Thorvald Stoltenberg. The Russian foreign minister is expected to join the same day the ceremony of transferring a MiG-17 plane to Norway's aircraft museum, and visit NATO's airforce base.

Sunday evening the Russian delegation led by A. Kozyrev will fly to the Norwegian city of Kirkenes to join an international conference on cooperation in the Barents Sea area and Euro-Arctic region on Monday. The delegation includes the leaders of Murmansk and Archangel Regions, since the conference in Kirkenes is viewed as a meeting between the representatives of the northern areas of Russia, Norway, Finland and Sweden.

According to G. Sidorova, the conference will be open to enable other countries to join the implementation of cooperation projects it is expected to work out.

Monday evening A. Kozyrev and his Finnish counterpart, Paavo Vyayuryunen will leave for the city of Ivalo in the north of Finland, where they'll have a brief stop.

Tuesday morning the two foreign ministers will leave for Helsinki, where full-scale Russian-Finnish talks will be held. In the framework of his official visit to Finland A. Kozyrev is expected to meet with Prime Minister Esko Aho and with President Mauno Koivisto.

Tuesday evening A. Kozyrev will leave for Paris, where he'll stay for two days (January 13-14) and join the ceremony of signing the international convention to ban chemical weapons.

Kozyrev Says Meeting With Dissidents To Help Cuban Ties

OW0601164593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1557 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Russia stands for maintaining normal ties with Cuba; nevertheless, it believes that attitude to the opposition is a sign of how civilized a country is." Russia's foreign minister, Andrey Kozyrev, made this statement in Moscow on Wednesday at a meeting with spokesmen for the moderate Cuban opposition, Carlos Alberto Montaner and Juan Suarez Rivas.

According to A. Kozyrev, "Russian-Cuban relations will benefit from the dialogue with Cuban dissidents in the long run." The Cuban dissidents lead the Madrid-based Cuban Democratic Platform organization. They came to Moscow in connection with the presentation of C.A. Montaner's book about Fidel Castro and his revolution. They are expected to take part in a Russian television program devoted to human rights in Cuba.

"A major task of our opposition is to search for peaceful and nonviolent ways toward democracy in Cuba," said C.A. Montaner in an interview with DP [Diplomatic Panorama]. "The Russian authorities have displayed political will and the intention to support any initiative aimed at establishing democracy on the island, if it doesn't entail violence or law abuses," he said.

Foreign Ministry Regrets Sihanouk Statement

LD0601174293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0835 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Boris Krivoshey]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan—The Russian Foreign Ministry regrets the recent statement by Cambodian leader Norodom Sihanouk. This is how a senior official of the Russian Foreign Ministry commented on reports that appeared in foreign media the other day to the effect that Norodom Sihanouk, who is undergoing treatment in Beijing, has announced an end to cooperation with the UN temporary body in Cambodia and with the government of Hun Sen.

"Such statements," the Russian diplomat said, "cannot fail to provoke anxiety, as they run counter to the efforts of the world community aimed at restoring accord in Cambodia and are making more difficult the peace processes and the preparations for general elections in Cambodia in line with the Paris agreements.

"Russia continues to adhere to the Paris agreements on Cambodia and expresses the hope that the situation in Cambodia will stabilize and that it will prove possible to bring the peace process to completion with the participation of all the Cambodian parties and the most active involvement of Norodom Sihanouk as the generally recognized head of state and chairman of the Supreme National Council," the spokesman for the Russian foreign policy department stressed.

Churkhin Assesses Geneva Talks on Bosnia, U.S. Position

OW0601161993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1557 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Developments in Bosnia seem "to have turned from war to peace", Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin told DP [Diplomatic Panorama]. According to him, Russia positively assesses the results of the first round of the talks in Geneva attended by Bosnia's three warring sides, with the presidents of Croatia and Yugoslavia acting as mediators. "A unique chance to finally reach understanding in the efforts to settle the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina has emerged, and it must not be missed," V. Churkin said.

According to him, "The danger of armed interference and foreign intervention is now lower than it was a few days ago". With reference to the stand taken by the USA, which seemed to be inclined toward using military means to resolve the problem, V. Churkin said: After top-level contacts in Moscow and in Paris "the Americans changed the tone of their statements".

"The taking of decision", he said, now depends on two sides: The Serbs in Belgrade and the Muslims in Bosnia. "Moscow believes that Belgrade should renounce everything of minor importance, while the Bosnian authorities led by President Izetbegovic should display maximum flexibility to ensure a successful conclusion for the talks in Geneva," said V. Churkin.

On Tuesday he conferred with the ambassador of Greece, and with the ambassadors of Egypt, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Turkey. The six countries belong to the contact group of the Islamic Conference Organization for Bosnia-Hercegovina. "We urge the Islamic Conference to join efforts with a view to inducing the conflicting sides to conclude the Geneva process with success," said V. Churkin.

Telephones Milosevic on Bosnian Conflict

LD0601235493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2351 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—Vitaly Churkin, deputy foreign minister of Russia, today talked to the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, by phone on the instruction of the Russain leadership.

The leaders discussed the prospects of finding a solution to the Bosnian conflict.

Views Crisis With Greek Official

LD0601210093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2038 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin held political consultations with Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Viryinia Tsoudherou on Tuesday.

During the meeting the sides exchanged opinions on the situation on the Balkans, sources from the Russian Foreign Ministry reported.

The sides noted a considerable coincidence of positions held by Russia and Greece on ways of the Yugoslav settlement. Churkin and Tsoudherou positively assessed the activities of co-chairmen of an international conference on former Yugoslavia, aimed at finding peaceful ways for the settlement. They emphasised the need to prevent further expansion of the conflict and further escalation of tension in the region.

Churkin came out in favour of the speediest settlement of differences between the Athens and Skopje and reiterated Russia's readiness to promote efforts to achieve this.

With ICO Envoys

LD0601221493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1651 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin on Tuesday received ambassadors from Egypt, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Turkey representing countries - members of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference [ICO] on Bosnia and Hercegovina.

During the meeting the participants discussed different aspects of the Yugoslav settlement and stressed the importance of ending the bloodshed as soon as possible. The participants also noted the importance of the first round of Geneva talks on Bosnia and Hercegovina, ITAR-TASS learned from the Russian Foreign Ministry on Wednesday.

Bosnian Army Claims Capture of 15 Russian 'Volunteers'

LD0601140793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1351 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Temnenkov]

[Text] Bonn January 6 TASS—The army of Bosnia and Hercegovina has captured 15 Russian volunteers who fought on the side of the Serbian Armed Forces against Bosnians, the Bosnian Army commander, General Sefer Halilovic told a news conference in Bonn, responding to a question from ITAR-TASS.

Halilovic and the minister of foreign affairs of Bosnia and Hercegovina Haris Silajjic, who also took part in the news conference, blamed the international community for the failure to do anything to put an end to the war in the republic.

Border Talks Begin With Estonia

OW0601131793 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1208 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A meeting between Russian and Estonian working groups on border-related issues began in Pskov on Tuesday [5 January]. The meeting took the form of negotiations between experts from the two nations.

Baltfax was informed by Anatoliy Ivanov, Russia's minister councillor in Estonia, that the main purpose of the talks was to prepare for the eighth round of international negotiations between delegations due to take place in Moscow in the middle of January. Matters regarding future collaboration between the working groups will also be discussed during the meeting which has commenced.

Raul Maliak, the head of the Estonian group, and advisor in the republic's foreign ministry, said, in his assessment of progress achieved in border issues, that for the time being both sides were rigidly maintaining their positions. Therefore, he continued, it would be necessary to determine in Pskov the directives and opportunities for future work.

The problem surrounding Kurdish refugees who illegally entered Estonia via Russia during the second half of December is also expected to be discussed.

Delegations Disagree on Issues

LD0601185193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1754 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Vlasov]

[Text] Pskov January 6 TASS—A one-day meeting of the working groups, members of the government delegations at the Russo-Estonian talks, dealing with border issues, ended without positive results here today.

By the next round of talks scheduled for January 14-15 in Moscow, the participants of the meeting in Pskov intended to agree on measures aimed to provide all necessary facilities and services in the frontier areas on both sides, as well as on terms of the demarcation of a border line between the two states. However, no agreements have been reached on these issues.

The Estonian side seeks to solve these problems on the basis of the Tartus Peace Treaty concluded by Russia

and Estonia in 1920, but the Russian delegation does not agree with such an approach towards the issue under discussion.

Military Delegation Visits Kuwait

LD0601192093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1028 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev]

[Text] Abu-Dhabi, 6 Jan—A Russian military delegation headed by Viktor Prudnikov, commander in chief of Russian air defense forces, had a meeting in Kuwait today with the country's defense minister, Shaykh 'Ali Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah. Talks were held on issues relating to the development of Russian-Kuwaiti military ties.

According to members of the delegation, at the meeting the Russian side confirmed Russia's readiness to support measures for ensuring peace, security, and stability in the Persian Gulf zone.

The delegation advocated expanding cooperation between the Russian Federation and Kuwait in the defense sphere.

Political Issues

Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Discuss Political Issues, Reforms

LD0601183993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1742 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday in Moscow Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, met with the head of the government, Viktor Chernomyrdin. The presidential press service reports that they have discussed a wide circle of issues concerning the activity of the executive bodies in 1993 and the problems connected with the coordinated actions of the president and the premier to further conduct the reforms. During their meeting the parties also considered political and organizational issues regarding, in particular, the interaction of the government, the Supreme Soviet, and the deputies factions.

They were discussing prospects of their concrete activity in the spheres of industry, agriculture, finances, and in the social sphere.

The press service has not given any detailed information concerning other issues.

'Sources' Say Yeltsin To Dismiss Administration Chief Petrov

LD0601174993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Yuriy Petrov will be relieved of his post as head of the Russian president's administration within the next two weeks. According to information RIA obtained from well-informed sources in the Kremlin and the parliament, a decree to this effect has been prepared already. First deputy chairman of the parliament Sergey Filatov will be appointed in place of Petrov. Among the reasons being mentioned for dismissal of Petrov—a politician who was very close to Boris Yeltsin—is his indecisive position during the Seventh Congress of the Russian People's Deputies.

Further on Petrov's Reported Removal

OW0601202093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1901 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sources close to the Russian President told INTERFAX that in the near future Yuriy Petrov would probably be released of the duties of the head of the Russian President's administration.

The same sources reported that Petrov informed about this fact his close associates during the meeting with his employees on Wednesday [6 January]. He explained that he had discussed this issue with President Boris Yeltsin.

The decree about Petrov's release has not been signed yet. It is supposed to be signed in the next one or two weeks. Until that moment Petrov will fulfill his duties. During the meeting with his employees Petrov underlined that he would try to complete the businesses which were begun earlier.

In particular, on January 7 Petrov, as the head of the Russian delegation, will leave for Paris for the consultations connected with the international investigation of the crash of the South Korean "Boeing" in 1983 which was brought down by a Russian fighter.

According to the available information, Sergey Filatov, the first deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, can be appointed to replace Petrov.

Petrov is a former party functionary and then a diplomat who was an Ambassador of the former USSR to Cuba. He has occupied the post of the leader of the presidential administration since Yeltsin was elected the first Russian President in June, 1991.

Over the latest period of time Sergey Filatov, the first deputy head of the Russian parliament and a member of the Russian Security Council, was sharply criticized by several deputies and the leadership of the Supreme Soviet. Filatov is viewed as one of the close supporters of Yeltsin in the parliament. He is a member of the coalition of reforms.

Filatov Said Appointed to Post

LD0701100893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0943 GMT 7 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan—Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian parliament, has been appointed head of the Russian Federation president's administration, an ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned from a source close to the president.

Filatov is currently on vacation in Pyatigorsk and will take up the new post in two weeks. Yuriy Petrov, who has held the post as head of the president's administration since August 1991, will lead the Russian state commission investigating the circumstances of the crash of the South Korean Boeing shot down in 1983 near Sakhalin.

Yeltsin, Tatar President Agree To Discuss Bilateral Ties

OW0601194593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1901 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has had a meeting with Tatar President Mintimer Shaymiyev today. According to the report provided by the Russian presidential press service, the parties exchanged opinions on a wide range of political, economic and social issues.

Presidents Yeltsin and Shamiyev have agreed to hold a meeting as heads of their government delegations in the near future in order to discuss a draft agreement on their bilateral relations.

Sobchak, Baburin Voice Views on Federal System

MK0701101593 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No 2, 6 Jan 93 (signed to press 5 Jan 93) p 2

[Pavel Anokhin report: "Priority for Soviet of Nationalities"]

[Excerpts] In his report at the Seventh Congress of Russian People's Deputies Russian President Boris Yeltsin mooted the idea of the Soviet of Nationalities taking priority in examining issues pertaining to the federative system. Politicians comment on this idea.

Professor of Juridical Sciences Dr. Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg:

"I personally do not hold with the idea of the Soviet of Nationalities taking priority when deciding questions connected with national-state and national-cultural formations. In my view, this idea is a survival of the Stalinist theory of national-state autonomies. I think that we must first of all decide what kind of autonomy there should be in the country—a national-cultural or national-state autonomy. When we lay the foundations of the new Constitution we must guarantee the rights of nationalities no matter where their representatives live. I am referring to guaranteed rights to the development of national schools, publication of journals and newspapers in national languages....

"I have doubts about nations' right to self-determination. This idea is playing a destructive role today because it is bringing about the destruction of the state and normal human living conditions and violating the rights of the individual. Look at the orgy of nationalism that has resulted from nations' right to self-determination! Not only in former communist states, but worldwide. We must ponder whether the idea is a correct one and whether it should be amended in view of the changed situation.

"Although I realize that we will not be able to rapidly abandon the system of national-state autonomies, we must nonetheless move in that direction." [passage omitted]

Russian People's Deputy Sergey Baburin:

"It is undoubtedly necessary to seek more flexible and effective opportunities for the activity of the supreme organs of state power. I agree that it is necessary to clearly delineate the chambers' authority. But there should be no priority accorded.

"I back the stance espoused by those who think that the chambers should not be shaped on the national-territorial principle. All components of the Russian Federation must be equal and the Russian state must be based on the territorial principle. Needless to say, republics must be preserved and developed and given additional powers.... But legally all components of the Federation must be unconditionally equal." [passage omitted]

KURANTY Chief Editor Pessimistic Following Gaydar's Ouster

MK0401092593 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 31 Dec 92 p 7

[Article by Chief Editor Anatoliy Pankov: "How Do We Carry on Living If 'Common Sense Has Won?'"]

[Text] Day by day the bad memories of the recent deputies' Congress should have faded into oblivion. But evidently the Congress was indeed not only hysterical but also "historical" in its leading role in the attempt to turn history back. And, judging by the letters to the editorial office (there are much more of them than we present here), for a long time to come it will be the subject of unhappy reflections and heated disputes. And all of us together will still have to seek an answer to the question: How do we carry on living if "common sense has won"?

Concerned by the victory over Ye. Gaydar, the indomitable N. Travkin stated with pathos that right now who wins is not important, but it is important that common sense wins. Insofar as both this statement and the speeches of R. Khasbulatov and A. Rutskoy were loudly applauded by the deputies, it is consequently their speeches that contain the common sense to which, whether we like it or not, new Premier V. Chernomyrdin must ultimately moor himself.

Let us leave aside the emotions of Rutskoy and Travkin, aimed at deputies who have weak nerves, are confused, and who have lost faith in their power and necessity. Khasbulatov's report sounded much more solid. So what exactly is the new father of the Russian peoples proposing? He does not curse (everyone is a master at that nowadays, so greater skill is not required) but actually proposes what the linchpins of salvation should be.

Eight areas are indicated in the speaker's report. I do not propose to make them tiresome by giving a detailed repetition. Let me recall, for example, what the professor believes: What must be regarded as of paramount importance is not Gaydarist macrostabilization but improving people's working and living conditions, clearly delineating the state sector's framework, not allowing a further fall in production, ensuring that the agrarian sector's development is given real priority, organizing the development of small-scale enterprise.... Anyone would probably subscribe to desires for prosperity. Who does not want to live better? How can this be achieved though? But we are already sick of slogans and exhortations in the spirit of the decisions of historic CPSU congresses.

There are no specifics—this means that the speaker has nothing to say. The emperor has no clothes! And wherever there is the faintest glimmer of argument, Brezhnev-style and Gorbachev-style methods are evident—albeit in the guise of reform. For instance, the desire to stimulate reforms "from below" is being expressed. Clearly, under market relations the "grass roots" are the producers of output, the entrepreneurs, and the owners. Oh no, Khasbulatov says, "from below" means from the provinces. But what is a province? It means territorial administration organs—soviets. That is, once again it is: All power to the soviets! Moreover, mainly to old-regime soviets.

That is how, in the guise of supporting reforms, we are slowly sliding toward the "good" old procedures.

"It is my profound conviction that Stalin carried out a coup d'etat. But, because he implemented it gradually, under the cloak of statements about faithfulness to Leninism, in the guise of strengthening the party, and by means of a huge expansion of party and administrative bureaucracy, few people have paid attention to the quality of the changes."

This is a warning to you and me.... Ruslan Imranovich himself. A chapter in his book "The Bureaucratic State" is so titled—"The Coup." Replace the words "Leninism," "the party," and "Stalin" with more topical ones and you will receive a good professorial lesson.

Just as Stalin could not carry out a "coup d'etat" without the support of an inner circle, the current "retinue makes the king." In Khasbulatov's soporific words the deputies heard something akin to a call to their socialist souls.

The market Khasbulatov-style is the antipode of Gaydarist reform. Consequently Chernomyrdin will either come into constant conflict with the deputies' corps or will gradually submit to the will of the Congress, to the will of Khasbulatov. In either case this premier will be short-lived. Either the Congress or the president will renounce him.

The drama of the current situation lies, in my view, in the fact that no other leader of the country but Gaydar understands precisely how we must proceed toward the market, toward economic freedom. Neither Yeltsin nor Chernomyrdin understands this. But while the president still believes in Gaydar, the premier intends to "correct" him. Judging by the first, fragmentary statements, there could be quite a substantial change of course. That, alas, promises us neither stability nor prosperity.

Danger of Yeltsin-Legislature Clash Persists

PM0501143193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jan 93 p 2

[Commentary by Lyubov Tsukanova: "In the Dispute for the Russian Crown. Strong Power Should Not Take Weak Steps"]

[Text] Among the political experiences of recent years, especially the departing year, we have failed to spot one change in our daily lives. A change perhaps not so much substantial (after all, we have not noticed it), as essential and relating to what is called mentality. Do you recall a noteworthy feature of our festive celebrations in former years? Conversations! It seemed that we got together not to drink, eat, and dance in pleasant company, but exclusively for the sake of conversations "as if our life depended on it." Mere acquaintances discussed politics. Long-standing acquaintances, friends, and relations discussed work. Now, I don't know about you, but I have noticed: We have stopped talking about work.

We have stopped, I think, for two reasons. First, because formerly we channeled our unspent social energy into our office dramas and tragedies, and this now has other outlets. Work has been returned to its proper place: From being a way of life, it has become a livelihood; that is to say, it has become what it is for people the world over—a means of earning money to live on. And work experiences have somehow been replaced by conversations about how to earn—in order to live. Or in order to survive....

We have not stopped arguing about politics, on the other hand. But even here the nature of the discussions has changed: From a passion without outlet, and therefore a consuming passion, politics are also gradually becoming a secondary, pragmatic element of life. We have still not liberated ourselves from their power, we still feel their influence on the basis of our life—the economy—and feel all too few changes in our position in society: Political reform is moving even more slowly than economic reform. We are just as defenseless as before, just as dependent on the authorities, and just as distrustful of their loyalty to us. But whereas before we were tormented by the lack of feedback and by the impossibility of influencing anything, now we have a different concern: How to distance ourselves from politics as much as possible and reduce their influence on our private lives to a minimum. We are slowly but, I hope, surely ridding ourselves of the power of politics over our souls—and we are beginning to judge the authorities' policies with sober detachment.

But is there some unified line of conduct on the part of the authorities which we can discuss as we once discussed "the policy of the party and the government"?

The answer to this question will be unequivocally negative: Even unenlightened brains these days divide the authorities into two halves: the "presidential" and the "parliamentary." According to preference, one is considered "good," the other "bad," and it is the battle between them that constitutes politics today.

This phenomenon is so new for our life that even professionals cannot resist the temptation to present the skirmish at the top as a battle between "good" and "bad," between new and old, between progressives and reactionaries. It cannot be said that there is no sense in

this comparison. But if we set emotions and personal preferences aside, the logic—in our conditions—of the conflict between the legislative and executive branches and its fatal inevitability can clearly be seen. Inevitability, because the underlying principle of the state structure—the separation of powers—was built into the old totalitarian constitution, and immediately came into conflict with all its components. And fatal—because it could not have been otherwise: A reconstruction of society that was essentially revolutionary was carried out in a peaceful reformist way. Society was ripe to understand the need for radical change, above all for the dismantling of the totalitarian system, but had an overly superficial, "idealistic" concept of its own future, and had still less idea how to carry out this peaceful transition from a terrible yesterday to a bright tomorrow.

A paradoxical thing has happened: The very organ which elevated the democratic, civilized norm of the separation of powers into the principle of state order and which in development of this principle constituted the presidential power subsequently, as if recovering from democratic fever, began to win back and redistribute powers in its own favor. There is nothing unexpected in this. If a legislator (and not a specially elected "one-shot" assembly) arrogates the right to adopt the constitution, then he quite naturally stands **above** the fundamental law. Consequently, the main principle of a rule-of-law state, according to which all the branches of power—the legislative, executive, and judiciary—are equally subordinate to the law, is violated. In a rule-of-law state the legislator cannot do "anything," while this is precisely the claim our Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet continually parade: Anything we decide is lawful. Hence their confidence in their right to endlessly change and "improve" already adopted laws, adopt laws contradicting the constitution, and redistribute constitutional powers, changing the balance of power.

This conflict will not be solved until a new constitution has been adopted. But what is far worse, it may not be solved even after this act, if the Congress keeps the right to adopt a new fundamental law—who can guarantee that this law will not enshrine the same contradictions which shake the state system's lopsided structure today?

It is not only a matter of the instinct of political self-preservation, and certainly nothing to do with confidence that our two-tier system of legislative power is more effective than a traditional parliament. The Congress felt itself to be, apart from anything else, an ideological power. Today this forum aspires to the place in the political area occupied for decades by the CPSU Congress—the "leading and directing" force in society.

As for historical tradition, it should be admitted that none of these congresses in Russia ever had a decisive voice. The "master" always decided. In today's battle between the parliamentary and presidential structures a skirmish is once again under way not only between one version of reform and another; the battle is not only for control over the government. An assertion of priorities is under way: on the one hand (Congress), the priority is ideology, on the other (the president), economics and politics. It is a contest of wills—the collective (that is, anonymous) will, and the personal will. The forces would appear to be unequal, and all the grave conflict that raged before and during the Congress suggests that the dictatorship of the majority is not a mythical danger. But more importantly, ways of overcoming this danger are not apparent, since it lies within Congress' will to block any referendum and any election. And all "legally." In this situation, so to speak, the only means of combating the tyranny of the legislature is the will of the president. All the events of recent months suggest that, the less clearly this will has been displayed, the more aggressive the legislators' onslaught has become. Any compromise step by the president has been interpreted as weakness, and has only intensified attacks. The one tough measure taken by Yeltsin had a sobering effect—the demand for a referendum, thanks to which in the well known agreement with the Congress the president "won back" all his previous losses. The development of the plot did not stop there, as we know; the strong step was followed by an inexplicably weak one—Gaydar was surrendered, and the Congress broke up with a victorious feeling: Our side won. And since "our side won," they began busily building on their success: the division of portfolios in the future government, "consultations," interviews... Public opinion was accustomed to the idea that henceforth policy will not be determined by the president alone.

We are all witnesses of how the situation was resolved this time: The "master" returned home from a trip (ostentatiously earlier than scheduled) and swiftly moderated appetites, forming the Cabinet of Ministers without any "roundtable," without any political consultations either with the opposition of any kind or with the "party of support." What is most interesting is that had Yeltsin begun all these consultations, the flurry of accusations and complaints would have become significantly greater. Unfortunately, force majeure (in this case it would be better to say political will) still has pride of place in the public mind; at any rate, it is productive. And in the constitutional crisis from which we have by no means escaped, this is in fact for the president the only weapon of defense. In any other country a disruption of the balance of forces is corrected by a clearly elaborated legal mechanism. In our situation, an organ of power, if it wants to be strong, cannot permit itself weak steps. "I don't advise it," one of the heroes of the Strugatskiy brothers [science fiction writers] used to say in such cases, "they will gobble you up."

All this testifies only that our mentality is still authoritarian and in no way democratic. And while we live under the old system of power, progressive transformations in the country will inevitably be linked with the name of Yeltsin. And this means that society will remain hostage to the political will of leaders. I deliberately avoid assessing one line or another: political rivalry is a normal phenomenon. The point is that there is still a danger that the two branches of power will lock horns not

because of different ideological preferences, but because of the absence of restraining, regulating mechanisms for collaboration.

Once thing is clear: Neither political, nor genuine economic reform will work while we live under the old system of power, where it is not the law, but the will which rules. Whether this is the will of one man or the tyranny of the majority does not matter.

Economic & Nuclear Issues

Moscow Explains 'State Control' Over Basic Foodstuffs

LD0601191393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1824 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—The Russian government decided on Wednesday to explain the reasons for returning to complete state control over prices for basic foodstuffs and raw materials and said its resolution adopted a day before drastically differs from the communist-type management as it aims to make producers improve their business and limits monopolists in their desire to skyrocket prices.

By adopting the resolution the government aimed not to restore the administrative and command methods of managing economy, but to provide for the maximum use of market economy mechanisms the effective functioning of which is possible only in conditions of a natural, but not monopolised pricing policy, according to a statement of the press service of the government.

It added that state control over prices will help ease the consequences of the growth of prices for energy resources and for agricultural produce during this year harvest.

High level of monopolisation in industry, the absence of market mechanisms and competition, weak influence of financial instruments on the development of production raised prices to a level considerably exceeding the forecast figures, according to the statement which also reads that price hikes begin from higher prices on raw materials and completing parts.

As a result a gap appears between the high prices for materials and the solvent demand for the finished goods. To avoid it the Russian government decided to limit the profitability level for all major raw materials and goods.

Thus, the state established control over prices for ferrous and non-ferrous metals, the products of the chemical, pulp and paper industries, timber and construction materials, electrotechnical goods, bearings, casting, semi-finished goods and resources for the light industry.

At the same time producers will be promoted to raise the technical level and increase the volume of production, as well as to decrease its cost. The profitability of new, highly-effective products, as well as of goods produced in amounts exceeding the figures of the previous year will not be limited in case their prices are not increased, according to the governmental decision.

However, profitability is limited by 15 per cent for such basic necessities as bread, macaronis, flour, cereals. The profitability of intermediate trade ventures has also been limited to keep the prices down. Local authorities have been granted the right to regulate profitability of food enterprises, according to the statement.

The government said it did not establish control over prices for luxury items as this would promote shortages of the goods and their sales at the "black market". It did not explain, however, why the thesis does not concern basic foodstuffs.

The decision of the government to restore control over prices was caused "by the emerging pricing situation in the Russian economy", the document said and reminded that "the pricing policy in market economy allows producers to act freely, prices are agreed upon by the dealing sides and the level of profitability of production acts as an objective and natural regulator of prices for goods and counteracts the desire of monopolists to drastically increase prices".

Chubays Statement Introduces Feature on Privatization

PM0601162593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 7

[Statement by A. Chubays, chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property, introducing full-page "Privatization of Russian Enterprises" feature: "A Word to the Readers"]

[Text] In recent months, a number of central newspapers, more than 100 republic, oblast, kray, city, rayon, and interregional newspapers, as well as radio and television collectives, have been actively helping us by providing publicity and information on the privatization process. We are grateful for this support, and now, obviously, it is fitting to ponder today's situation together with you, esteemed readers, and to evaluate how far we have managed to advance our common undertaking.

Events are developing rapidly. We are satisfied with the continued rise of the privatization check's value. Assurances by the opposition and its so-called independent experts regarding the collapse of the check have themselves suffered a collapse: The check's value started to rise at the end of November, and no doubt it will continue to do so. It is difficult to overstate this fact: Despite a vicious battle, which, of course, did not improve the situation, the might of the economic ideas enshrined in the design of "large-scale" privatization was sufficient to overcome the destabilizing factors.

Today, the implementation of the president's edict No. 721 On National Privatization is at its very height. We

are doing the preparation, and in a number of cases we are already holding the first check auctions. The shares market is being effectively furbished with offers. Almost 5,000 large enterprises will be turned into joint-stock companies: Their collectives are currently participating in closed subscriptions for shares. Those shares which still remain in state ownership are being offered for free sale, again via the check auctions. Several thousand medium enterprises, which were not subject to compulsory flotation, have joined this process voluntarily.

In general, we are satisfied with the progress of "small-scale" privatization too. As of 1 December, over 60 billion rubles had been earned from the sale of facilities under municipal ownership. The total number of enterprises in private hands has reached 30,000 units.

Legislators have finally moved away from the deadlock in the question of private land ownership. It is necessary to progress further, to invest the new constitutional position with a functioning network [rabochaya forma] of legally-binding acts. The State Committee for the Management of State Property has its own range of tasks in this area—they are associated with the sale of land plots in exchange for special land privatization checks. We intend to resolve these tasks in the first quarter of 1993. There are also other questions regarding the sale of land, and they are also being vigorously worked out.

In the vast majority of cases, when resolving the problems of privatization, we find a common language with the leadership of republics within the Russian Federation, krays, and oblasts whose economies have significant sectoral peculiarities. Objectively, there can be no simple solutions here—nevertheless, in each individual case it is possible to arrive at acceptable options and sensible compromises, and we are moving toward them.

Thus privatization as a whole—a key element in the economic reforms—is developing fairly successfully despite stiff resistance from government opponents. Even before the Congress it was clear: The opposition must now wage war not against the government, but against those sectors of the population (comprising many millions) which are involved in privatization. Over 17 million proprietors—that is what we can show for one year of work.

It would be nice to hope this special feature of the newspaper will give you, esteemed readers, an idea of how each of Russia's citizens will in practice be able to take part in national privatization over the coming year.

INTERFAX Reports on Republic's Declining Productivity

OW0601012193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1915 GMT 05 Jan 93

[From "Cover Story" section of the "Interfax Business Report" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] **Russian Production Slipped Further Than Government Expected in 1992**

The continued drop in production for the second half of 1992 was accompanied by a much more rapid growth in prices.

Experts from "Macroecon-Link", the independent research center of the Ministry of Economics and the State Statistics Committee of Russia, said deregulating prices while producer monopolies and widespread shortages remained spelled profit for many firms who were able to raise prices without increasing production. Profitability levels dropped as the proportion of payroll expenses increased.

"Peak" Price Increases Came at Year's End

Macroecon-Link said prices in the manufacturing sector grew 238% over 1991; during the period January to October 1992 prices rose 1811% over the same period a year earlier. Prices began growing faster toward the end of the year.

Producer Price Index (December 1992 - 100%)

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov
482	844	1080	1236	1554	2113	2472	2794	3185	4045	5137

Prices grew most in the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy industry, certain areas of the chemical and petrochemical industry, and in industries which consume considerable amounts of fuel and energy resources (the coking chemical industry, synthetic rubber industry). Prices jumped sharply upward for raw materials in the mining and chemical industries, as did prices for agricultural raw materials used in light industry.

An analysis by Macroecon-Link experts pointed to a substantial increase in the fuel and energy, and ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy industries' share in total production and a sharp reduction in the share of total production held by the machine building, light and food industries.

Thus, in spite of the government's intentions the structural disproportion in industry widened; a large portion of industry remains focused on unprofitable areas, the shortage of finished product is growing, and high technology production has taken a back seat.

Structure of Industrial production (%)

	in current prices		in compared prices	
	1991	1992	1991	1992
Total for Russia	100	100	100	100
including:				
Electric energy	4	6.9	3	2.4
Fuel industry	7.3	16.7	6.9	13.4
Oil industry	2.7	7.2	2.5	6.5
Oil refining	2.4	6.3	2.3	4.6
Gas industry	1.1	0.9	1.1	2
Coal industry	1	2.2	0.8	0.2
Ferrous metallurgy	4.9	8.5	4.7	9.1
Non-ferrous metallurgy	6.3	9.3	5.9	8.8
Chemical and petrochemical industry	7.1	8.5	6.8	7
Machine building	25	20.1	23.9	24.4
Forestry	5.8	4.9	5.7	5.8
Construction materials industry	4.1	3.7	4	3
Light industry	16.3	6.3	16.6	9.9
Food industry	15.9	11.8	19.3	11.9

Economic Recession Brings Drop in Exports

A general recession in Russia during 1992 was responsible for decreased exports and a shift in export structures.

Import policies continued to focus on consumer needs, with food items topping the list (grain, meat, sugar, vegetable oil, and so on).

Machinery and equipment accounted for 37% of imports; the share of fuels and raw product in exports was increased.

Structure for Exports in 1992 (%, Macroecon-Link data)

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
	by product				
Fuel, raw minerals and metals	53	52	51.4	62.2	71.9
Chemical and rubber-technical product	3.3	3.4	3.8	8	6.5
Other raw material	4.9	4.9	4.6	8.5	6.1
Food items	1.1	1.3	1.7	3.3	3
Machinery and equipment	17.1	16.8	17.5	7.9	4.6
Other products of the refining industry	20.6	21.7	20.9	10.2	7.9
	by region				
Former East Bloc nations	53.1	51.4	49.1	31.2	29.3
Western industrial nations	32.6	34.6	36	55.1	56.7
Developing nations	14.3	14	14.9	13.7	14

The weak ruble against the dollar (the official rate as of January 6th was 417 rubles to the dollar) and the need to bring in at least a minimum of hard currency forced companies to export whatever they could sell at any price, including dumping prices.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Views 1993 Economic Prospects

PM0601164793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jan 93 p 3

[Pavel Bunich "Opinion": "Will Ordinary People's Lives Get Better?"]

[Text] Recently, over a period of literally two or three months, the decline in the production sector has begun to slow down. This has created the illusion that we are moving in the right direction and will soon emerge onto the right road.

I would like to say that this conclusion is too optimistic and unrealistic. Because the positive changes are microscopic and extremely unstable, and although they have been achieved with difficulty, they could easily disappear. Moreover, we have succeeded in moving toward these changes using just one primitive and double-edged method, namely credits. This year credits worth far in excess of 3 trillion rubles have been issued. And, of course, if we immediately run to the aid of every enterprise as soon as it finds the going tough, the market muscles that have started to develop in our country will automatically grow flabby, or else these already slack muscles will atrophy. A man forgets how to walk when he has not learned to move of his own accord as he should.

These enormous injections are halting the decline in production but at the same time halting the struggle for the market. We are taking away people's desire to fight for a life of their own. And in the future we will again have to pay by cutting back on production output.

A new premier has come to power and has stated that he wants to halt the decline in production and the impoverishment of the people. And people have immediately started to attack him, saying that reform has been turned back, and the government is conservative. One can only be surprised at such premature judgments and at what is going on in our country. If you veer to the right, you are said to be incorrect. If you veer to the left, this will not do either. If you intend to fight the decline, this is bad; if you tolerate it, this is no good either.

But if we make a serious analysis of the declared position, we can say (provided the mechanism for putting this position into practice is not affected) that it is not conservative but progressive. For 11 months we have been trying to secure precisely this sort of action from the government. But now it has agreed to take this action, we are starting to hinder it and clip its wings. I, however, welcome the declared line for next year with open arms.

It is impossible to realize a bad idea in such a way that things will be good for people. But a good idea, unfortunately, can be spoiled during implementation. This development of events next year must be avoided. I am saying that in order to overcome the decline, credits are not the only thing we should use. But if we do issue them, they should be for specific and major programs, not as promises or pay.

Apart from credits, we are also in considerable need of a policy for stimulating investments. Much has been said in the Supreme Soviet about freeing these from taxes, but to date no decisions have been made. This needs to be rectified in the new year. There is another recipe for overcoming the decline—an import substitution policy. Such a policy does not yet exist in our country. I do not mean we should abandon the international division of labor, we cannot slide into a barter economy. But we keep on importing milk, butter, meat, and much else besides, although it would be cheaper to hand over the foreign currency we spend on this to our producers. This is quite plain: People would start working much more efficiently. New buildings are being erected alongside our academy. The workers are partly paid in foreign currency. And their work cannot be compared with that done by Turks, Yugoslavs, or Finns. They build everything beautifully. So might it be that we would get no less from our peasants than what we currently buy abroad?

I am also sure that we must not automatically make all kinds of allowances for enterprises, otherwise we will again start bailing everybody out one after another, even those who have knowingly gone bankrupt or proved three times over their inability to keep their heads above water. And then nobody will ever learn to swim. It is sensible to support only vitally important production facilities which the economy is in no fit state to do without.

I hope that the new government will take everything that is good from the old government. But we can talk about this with certainty tomorrow or the day after. Everyone should rub along together and give birth to a new alloy. Then we will see whether they have managed to continue the course that was laid down earlier. I have no doubts that they will only be able to work provided they remain creative people, and not the agents of somebody else's will.

With the New Year I would very much like to give everything the "thumbs up." The elements for such an assessment, the things I have been speaking about, already exist: I have added a bit of honey. But the tongue cannot bring itself to say sweet things about our political life. I can only say: At least it is no worse. After all, it is clear to the naked eye that the political struggle has not ceased. Those who secured the replacement of Ye. Gaydar seemed to smell blood; they are behaving aggressively and want more.

I am afraid that if V. Chernomyrdin continues the market policy and sticks closely to the proposed course, and these forces believe that the wrong figure has been

chosen, they will begin to put spokes in his wheels, using the Supreme Soviet among other means.

Nonetheless I will express the hope that positive developments are possible in the economy. This means that next year could bring us noticeable improvements in the economy. Right now the government already realizes that the wage tap must not be shut off so much that the increase in incomes lags significantly behind the rise in prices.

So next year things should not get any worse. I would not promise a categorically new life in two to three years' time. We have had enough promises, we have made them repeatedly and have already had time to grow old on them.

However, if the political situation gets more complex, the worst of the economic problems will be behind us. Ordinary people's lives should also improve. They can expect lower inflation and more of a correlation between inflation and growth in incomes. Let us hope that the intention not to reduce the standard of living turns out actually to be the case. And then people will come to believe in the market.

Poll Shows Citizens Pessimistic About Own Prospects

MK0601171593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Jan 93 p 2

[Boris Grushin "Poll": "Russian Citizens Expect Nothing Good for Themselves in New Year. Forecasts About Country Not So Gloomy"]

[Text] At the end of 1992 the VP Service for the Study of Public Opinion conducted an all-Russia poll. Two questions were asked: "What do you think about possible changes in your life by spring next year?", and "What expectations do you have with the coming of 1993? What will most likely happen to the overall situation in the country?"

Interestingly, people do not always associate changes in their personal life with the situation in the country. Despite their hope that the situation in Russia will improve, the majority do not expect anything good for themselves.

Thus, 57 percent of respondents think that their personal life will deteriorate in 1993, while 15 percent are firmly convinced of it. Some 28 percent are hoping for an improvement, while only 4 percent of respondents are confident about this. Twelve percent think that everything will remain unchanged, while 3 percent were don't-knows.

The vote was split evenly as far as predicting the country's future was concerned: 41 percent of respondents think that the situation will improve (against 26 percent in 1991), while 41 percent expect it to deteriorate (against 61 percent in 1991). Seven percent expect there to be a dramatic improvement, while 39 percent expect just "some improvement." Some 32 percent of those who expect the situation to deteriorate are sure that it will "somewhat deteriorate," while 9 percent think that the situation in the country "will deteriorate catastrophically."

Thirteen percent of respondents think that there will be no change in the situation in the county at all in the New Year (against 5 percent in 1991). Five percent of respondents (against 8 percent in 1991) had no opinion regarding possible changes in the situation in the country.

Government Issues Decree on Nuclear Power Stations

PM0701102993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 6 Jan 93 p 1

[Article by ITAR-TASS observer Pavel Ryabov, especially written for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, under the "Safety" rubric: "Russia Does Not Intend To Give Up Nuclear Electric Power Stations"]

[Text] The Russian Government issued a special decree at the end of the year which examined questions concerning the construction of nuclear electric power stations [AES] on the republic's territory. It especially stresses that new stations can be commissioned and designed only when state environmental audits and consultations with the local authorities produce positive findings and there is "extensive discussion of the issue by the local population."

Judging by the official document, proposals regarding the terms and schedule for possible further construction of the sixth power unit at the Voronezh nuclear heat supply plant [AST] and construction of the new Yuzhno-Uralsk and Beloyarsk AES's will be examined and agreed by the appropriate ministries and departments in the very near future.

It is perfectly possible that the main power unit of a new-generation AES will be started up in the city of Sosnovyy Bor, Leningrad Oblast, before the summer of 1995, this being built on the basis of the Leningrad AES. The Russian Government, as the decree points out, has tasked the designers of this medium-capacity power unit with achieving high internal safety.

As your ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation, work on constructing a fourth power unit at the Kalinin AES and on constructing the Arkhangelsk AST will be halted in accordance with the decree. Decisions by the parliaments of the Republics of Bashkortostan and Tatarstan halting the construction of the Bashkir and Tatar AES's have also been noted by the Russian Government.

Military Issues

Kokoshin Sees Enhancement of Armed Forces' Image

LD0601224393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1523 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Interview with First Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Afanasiyevich Kokoshin by Kipras Mazheyka in Brussels; date not given; recorded—from the "Reportages from NATO" program]

[Excerpt] [Mazheyka] [passage omitted] I should like to end the cycle of broadcasts entitled "Reportages from NATO" with a man whose name has long been familiar to me and, I must say, a man whom I greatly respect for his scholastic works.

Andrey Afanasiyevich, if I am not mistaken, it is now six months since you were appointed to the post of first deputy minister of defense of Russia.

[Kokoshin] About six months.

[Mazheyka] Have you succeeded in making an impact on the military structures of such a power as Russia which in principle has not been used to civilians—this was more characteristic of the United States and other countries? But, as a man who, in principle, has always been used to tackling questions of a more political nature, have you been able to achieve anything in six months?

[Kokoshin] Well, of course, it is difficult for me to judge what I have really managed to achieve. It would be better for others to judge that. But it seems to me that I have managed to find a common language with those military professionals, with the new cohort which has come into the Russian Ministry of Defense. In general, we are working shoulder to shoulder. Of course, at first, we had some what I would describe as purely psychological difficulties of adapting to each other. However, I think that we have overcome these difficulties in the main. Everyone has his own section of work, which is quite clearly outlined, and his own sphere of responsibilities, and everyone should carry out his duties. And we try to do this.

[Mazheyka] This is your first visit in your new post to the Atlantic capital [Brussels], right?

[Kokoshin] Yes, it is my first visit here.

[Mazheyka] You have had meetings in NATO with Manfred Woerner and other experts and military leaders. What is your view, how do you see the armed forces of Russia, looking from Brussels?

[Kokoshin] I must note with satisfaction that attentively observing the development of events in Russia, I note that the Russian Armed Forces are beginning to acquire a specific aspect, that they are beginning to get on with their proper work. Combat and operational training is getting under way despite the huge difficulties which the country, and the armed forces in particular, is going through.

Our successes in some peace-keeping operations, especially in Moldova and South Ossetia, are held in high regard. Here professionals who are engaged in such questions have long known how difficult it is to organize and provide the back-up for these operations and how much courage and endurance they require from those officers and soldiers directly involved in them. The actions of our battalion in Yugoslavia are also held in high regard. I consider that one of the chief impressions which I will take away with me from here is that Europe feels that the Armed Forces of Russia are becoming a weighty factor in Russia's international positions and an important element in ensuring stability and security in Europe as a whole.

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov Delegation Continues Mideast Tour

Meets Israeli Leaders

LD0501184093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Israel was the second country visited by a delegation of Russian parliamentarians led by Ruslan Khasbulatov. Konstantin Zlobin reports by telephone from Tel Aviv.

[Zlobin] This is the highest-ranking state delegation to visit Israel since diplomatic relations were established between our countries. [passage omitted]

Delegation head Ruslan Khasbulatov and other people's deputies met with President Herzog, Foreign Minister Peres, and Prime Minister Rabin. All conversations, which occurred in a friendly atmosphere, stressed the mutual desire to develop relations between both countries in the future, and to promote the process of Near East settlement in every possible way. According to Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres, the peace talks should bring peace and stability to the entire Near East. It was stressed in conversations that Russia has played a positive role in this process, and that progress in a Near East settlement will undoubtedly enhance our country's international standing.

At the meeting with Shim'on Peres, the head of the Russian parliament noted that the era of global confrontation is receding into the past, but mankind is facing the new danger of local conflicts, such as that in the Near East, acquiring global proportions. In Ruslan Khasbulatov's words, today all the interested parties should use all their resources to prevent this new danger from becoming a prominent feature of the 21st century. We will give any help to all the sides interested in settling this conflict which is fraught with danger for the whole world, the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman stated firmly.

Further on Talks

LD0501223993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2105 GMT 5 Jan 93
[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Zhudro]

[Text] Tel Aviv, 6 Jan—The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet delegation led by Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, which is visiting Israel, met Israeli head of state Yitzhaq Rabin on Tuesday evening.

During the conversation, held in the prime minister's office in Jerusalem, issues were touched upon relating to the situation in the Near East and bilateral relations between Israel and Russia.

R.I. Khasbulatov stressed Russia's desire and willingness to participate in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Palestinian [as received] conflict, proceeding from the need to take into account the interests of and to guarantee the security of all the states and peoples of the Near East. Alongside this, the head of the Russian Parliament spoke in favor of the development of businesslike cooperation between the two countries in the economic, scientific, cultural, and other spheres.

Y. Rabin said that Israel is ready for such cooperation and expressed the view that the visit by Russia's parliamentary delegation will contribute to strengthening bilateral relations. Dwelling in detail on the situation which has arisen in the Near East region, the Israeli prime minister said that irrespective of the difficulties which exist, he is hoping for positive results in 1993 within the peace talks framework.

On the same day, R.I. Khasbulatov and members of the Russian delegation met the prominent Palestinian figure Faysal al-Husayni and a number of members of the Palestinian delegation conducting the dialogue with Israel. It was learned from circles close to the Russian delegation that al-Husayni sharply condemned Israel's deportation of a large group of Palestinians belonging to the Islamic movement, and advocated the strengthening of Russia's role as cochairman of the Madrid conference on the Near East.

R.I. Khasbulatov gave a negative assessment of the deportation of the Palestinians, but added that this incident should not disrupt the talks process. In his words, Israel is seriously intent on the success of the dialogue with the Arabs. For its part, Russia will do everything to facilitate a just settlement of the conflict in the region.

Late in the evening, R.I. Khasbulatov held a news conference for Israeli and foreign journalists. He responded to numerous questions which testified to the heightened interest among journalists in the visit by the Russian parliamentarians and in the situation within Russia itself.

Arrival in Cairo

LD0601192193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1846 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shelenkov]

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—A Russian parliamentary delegation led by Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov arrived in Cairo on Wednesday in the framework of the visit of the Russian delegation to a number of countries of the Middle East.

At the Cairo International Airport the delegation was met by Chairman of Egypt's Parliament, Fathi Surur.

The programme of the delegation's visit to Egypt includes meetings and talks with Egyptian parliamentarians, Egypt's Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa, Secretary General of the League of Arab States 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Magid. There are plans to arrange a meeting between Khasbulatov and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak.

On arrival in Cairo Khasbulatov told journalists that good contacts are being established between the Russian and the Egyptian parliaments. The aim of the visit is to give a new impetus to these relations on the basis of the socio-political support, Khasbulatov said. He noted that Russia and Egypt are historic partners who have been maintaining close cooperation in various spheres for many years, and nowadays one can say with satisfaction that the spirit of this cooperation is being revived.

Fathi Surur said that during the last visit to Moscow by an Egyptian parliamentary delegation a very useful dialogue was started which is aimed at strengthening the historic ties between Russia and Egypt in the framework of the parliamentary exchange between the two countries. Surur noted a democratic character of the Russian parliament, what had been reflected in the course of the last Congress of Russian Peoples' Deputies.

Decree Issued on Law on Citizens' Travel

PM0501114793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 93 First Edition p 6

[Decree of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet "On the Enactment on the Territory of the Russian Federation of the USSR Law 'On the Procedure for Exit From and Entry Into the USSR by USSR Citizens'," dated 22 December 1992 and signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Proceeding on the basis of the right of Russian Federation citizens to unrestricted exit from the Russian Federation and unhindered return thereto, enshrined in Article 42 of the Russian Federation Constitution, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet **decrees**:

1. To extend, as of 1 January 1993, the application of the USSR Law "On the Procedure for Exit from the USSR and Entry into the USSR by USSR Citizens," dated 20

May 1991, to the territory of the Russian Federation until the relevant Russian Federation law is adopted.

2. With the aim of providing for the transition from the existing procedure for formalizing exit from the Russian Federation to the procedure envisaged in the USSR Law dated 20 May 1991, to authorize, until 1 March 1993, the parallel application of the old and new procedures for formalizing exit documents, depending on the availability of the new type of form at relevant local organs.

3. To instruct the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Defense and Security to submit the Russian Federation draft Law "On State Secrets" for consideration by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet by 1 March 1993.

4. In order that problems associated with the practical implementation of the USSR Law "On the Procedure for Exit from the USSR and Entry into the USSR by USSR Citizens" on the territory of the Russian Federation be resolved efficiently, to instruct the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legality, Law and Order, and the Struggle Against Crime, to form a parliamentary commission with the participation of representatives of the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Russian Federation Ministry of Security, the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, and the Russian Federal Migration Service.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

[Dated] Moscow, Russia's House of Soviets, 22 December 1992

No. 4183-1

Parliament Inserts Amendments in Tax Legislation

LD0601175193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1349 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—The Russian government will maintain relatively low prices for bread products in the future, at least, during the first quarter of this year, Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the parliamentary Commission on Budget, Planning, Taxes and Prices, said. He was speaking at a news conference on "changes in the tax legislation of the Russian Federation" held in the parliamentary building today.

Budgetary subsidies for bread products cost the state 2-3 billion roubles a day. As regards the total sum of the subsidies for prime necessities, which are expected later this year, it may exceed a trillion roubles, according to Aleksandr Pochinok.

Touching on the president's budgetary message for 1993, Aleksandr Pochinok noted that it is being analyzed thoroughly by the Supreme Soviet, and parliamentary hearings will be held on each section of the document before the end of January. "For the first time, all clauses of the state budget will be furnished with corresponding figures, including expenditure relating to each ministry and department, as well as presidential, parliamentary and governmental structures," the chairman of the parliamentary commission elaborated.

As early as February the Supreme Soviet intends to go back to the issue of an increase in pensions or their essential indexation.

The organizers of the news conference drew the attention of journalists to the changes made in the taxation of citizens' incomes. From now on, those whose annual income does not exceed 200,000 roubles, are not obliged to submit a declaration to financial bodies. In accordance with the new changes, sums of money directed, during a year but not more than three years, at new construction work or the acquisition of a house, an apartment, a country house or a garden house, as well as sums used to redeem credits granted to citizens for these purposes, will no longer be taxable.

Opposition Members View Current Politics Scene

OW0401102193

[From the "Transrosefir" program]

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 0600 GMT on 24 December 92 carries its regular "Transrosefir," which includes a segment entitled "Oppositsiya" [opposition] which features members of the parliamentary faction "Smena. Novaya Politika." Members include Andrey Leonidovich Golovin, faction chairman; Sergey Alekseyevich Polozkov, faction economics coordinator; Mikhail Valentinovich Malutin, faction adviser and political scientist; and Vladimir Borisovich Pastukhov, faction legal issues adviser. They discuss the faction's political program, analyze the present political situation, and answer questions phoned in television viewers.

Golovin outlines the faction's program, saying it aims to bring about evolutionary changes in society through legislation and budget control, while retaining the main principle of the rule of law. He provides examples of the faction's parliamentary activities to maintain the rule of law, such as the unspecified action taken against Yeltsin and Khasbulatov when they acted unconstitutionally.

Faction members then discuss the Congress of People's Deputies, criticize its work as chaotic and self-seeking, and say that the constitution must clearly define the privileges and powers of everyone in authority to prevent abuse.

Polozkov says Gaydar's departure was inevitable and that the faction's leaders, who largely have scientific

backgrounds, realize that rapid solutions to the economic problem are not possible.

Pastukhov comments on the Congress of People's Deputies, saying most, including Yeltsin, are well aware of the changes in contemporary society. Malutin says the significance of the congress lies in the fact that the government has been approved by parliament "for the first time in Russian history," and that a change in the government no longer means a coup.

The faction members then answer viewers' questions on parliamentary work. In commenting on the issue of land privatization, Golovin says that although the law on private ownership of land exists, it has been kept secret from the public and there are no specific regulations attached to it, which has resulted in confusion.

In referring to the referendum suggested by President Yeltsin at the congress, Polozkov says that although the constitution allows for plebiscites on particular issues, they tend to encourage disputes, and he suggests early elections as an alternative.

Malutin concludes by commenting on the situation in Crimea, saying the status of Crimea must be decided by the people living there and no one else.

Opposition Bloc Holds News Conference

LD0601174793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1302 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—A press conference, held at the parliamentary centre here on Wednesday by the Rossiyskoye Edinstvo (Russian Unity) opposition bloc, dealt with the results of Tuesday's session of the Coordinating Council of the Russian All-People's Union (RAPU). The press conference was attended by People's Deputies Sergey Baburin and Mikhail Astafyev.

Baburin informed those present that the RAPU Coordinating Council decided to hold the Second Congress of the RAPU on February 20-21.

The congress is to consider the socio-economic and political situation in the country, work out RAPU's position on the April referendum on a draft new Constitution and to adopt a RAPU programme, Baburin said.

The RAPU Coordinating Council also discussed the situation concerning Yugoslavia, Baburin pointed out. He emphasised that, in the opinion of the council members, "there are no reasons for a talk about an armed intervention in the affairs of Yugoslavia, other than the narrow selfish interests of particular powers".

Baburin again drew attention to the condition of those members of the self-styled Emergency Committee who are still kept in custody, and on behalf of the RAPU demanded their "immediate hospitalisation and a change of the measure of restraint, releasing them on their own recognizance".

Astafyev devoted the bulk of his remarks at the press conference to the START-2 Treaty signed on January 3, this year, and stated that the need to reduce nuclear arms does not arouse protest among the parliamentary opposition.

Having pointed out that he is not prepared so far to give a detailed analysis of the Treaty, Astafyev criticised "the very pace of the conclusion" of the document and "persons involved in elaborating it", the Russian minister of foreign affairs, in particular.

Speaking about prospects for a ratification of the Treaty, Astafyev said the question should not be even raised now. At first, in the opinion of the people's deputy, it is essential "to inquire into the fact of an unlawful appointment of Andrey Kozyrev to the ministerial post".

Another hindrance is posed by the unclear stand of Ukraine as regards the START-1 and START-2 Treaties. Baburin also declared in favour of not being in a hurry to ratify the treaty signed several days ago.

"Agreements on any cuts in the Armed Forces and armaments may be ratified by the Russian parliament only after a concept of foreign policy and a defence doctrine of Russia are endorsed", he said.

Deputy Chairman Criticizes Khasbulatov's Powers

MK0601165593 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 6 Jan 93 p 4

[Interview with Boris Zolotukhin, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee, by Lidiya Lukyanova; place and not given: "Ground Rules for the Chairman"]

[Text] The Russian parliament represents a destructive force for the country, an impediment to reform, or an example of cupidity in office, in short, bad news for voters: It has covered little ground, but has made many mistakes. Why is that? Boris Zolotukhin, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee, thinks that ground rules for the chairman are essential.

[Zolotukhin] Our political life has shown that the person who is chairman of the house and, likewise, the person who is chairman of the Supreme Soviet is of tremendous importance for the future of Russia. Yet something has gone awry here. Over the next few days the members of the Soviet of the Republic chamber are to elect a new chairman. When I spoke in parliament I wanted to warn my colleagues against making a mistake, so I reminded them of the qualities that the chairman needs and those that he does not.

The chairman should above all not be a deceitful person. If during an interview with the press the chairman of the

house, say, (can this happen?) calls his political opponents lackeys or toadies and then decides to deny his own words, in my view a deceitful person like that cannot be chairman.

I don't think that a vindictive person can be chairman. If, for instance, you get a situation where a member of the Supreme Soviet transfers to work in the government, and then wants to go back to work permanently on a commission or committee, the chairman cannot prevent him from doing so under any circumstances.

The chairman of the house cannot be a megalomaniac, the chairman of the house is not entitled to say that there has never been a democrat like him. He cannot say that in the country that gave the world Radishchev and Sakharov. Megalomania is incompatible with the post of chairman of the house....

[Lukyanova] And it is all the more incompatible with the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet, I think.

[Zolotukhin] Of course. I am convinced that the chairman of the house cannot be a political cynic. If for some reason of his own the chairman does everything he can to bring down the government and his efforts are obvious to the whole country, he cannot then say that he has done everything he can to save this government.

The chairman of the house should not be attached to the kind of luxury only found among Arab shaykhs. It is easy to imagine a palace "offered" to the previous master of our country, the general secretary, being vacated. It is inadmissible nowadays for the chairman of the house to try to move into a palace that even the former master of the country deemed too luxurious.

I also don't think that the chairman has the right, out of love for his relatives, to transgress a law that is binding for everyone. He should therefore not arm even his beloved kinfolk with firearms, or else these kinfolk will start promising a cab driver a bullet in the head instead of paying for the ride.

The members of the Soviet of the Republic agreed with me: The chairman of the house must not have these qualities.

The chairman of the house—this rule is inscribed in the parliament's standing orders—must not take the liberty of commenting on statements made by a single deputy. I am sure that at the moment a parliamentary speaker is born the parliamentary orator in him must die. The speaker must listen in silence to everything that deputies say, provided that they are not in breach of standing orders. The speaker must not be the house's boss, or its leader; he must be its servant.

[Lukyanova] The role played by the personality of the leader of the house and, in particular, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet has once again been very exaggerated in our country. Can we really not get by now without a czar or a general secretary in the parliament?

[Zolotukhin] That is certainly the case. This is evidence that our parliament is very youthful and traditions are only just developing. And it is becoming increasingly bureaucratized.

[Lukyanova] Boris Andreyevich, in the recent past you were a well-known criminal lawyer. A most humane profession! Would you have undertaken to defend the parliament's speaker from criticism?

[Zolotukhin] A lawyer is not obliged to undertake any defense if that defense is misdirected. If I were asked to defend Ruslan Imranovich [Khasbulatov] from the charges made against him by the press, say, I would decline the honor. I would rather agree to be the trial prosecutor.

[Lukyanova] What charges would you make against the speaker?

[Zolotukhin] Breaches of standing orders, constant ones at that. Most Supreme Soviet sessions, for instance, turn into a lengthy monologue by the speaker instead of a discussion of the issues. He takes the liberty of commenting on any subject, something that standing orders categorically forbid. I would mention the fact of his concentrating power in his hands, something that Ruslan Imranovich craves, contrary to Article 115 of the Constitution, and which he is appropriating. He is only empowered to direct the preparation of bills for examination by the Supreme Soviet and the Congress. Khasbulatov is trying to take charge of all representative bodies, from the rural soviets to the Congress of People's Deputies. This is redolent of Ruslan Imranovich's unconstitutional notion of his own position within the system of power in Russia. There simply cannot be a chairman of the Supreme Soviet with those powers since this is legally absurd. By his 22 August directive Khasbulatov vested himself with the powers to direct all the Supreme Soviet's work. He vested the chairmen of the chambers with the right to direct the work of the commissions and committees. Yet they are completely autonomous deputies' formations. The people's plenipotentiary representatives cannot be directed. The speaker must hear them out, organize sessions, and assist them in their work.

By this same directive Khasbulatov accorded himself the right to direct the work of the Constitutional Commission. The president is the chairman of the commission. I am a member of that commission and I, like the other members, did not vest Khasbulatov with that right. He is merely one of the members of this commission and its deputy chairman.

Khasbulatov's actions are totally encompassed by Article 171 of the Criminal Code regarding ultra vires activity, that is, deliberate commission by an official of actions that clearly go beyond the rights and powers granted to Khasbulatov by law. Of course, the general prosecutor has to petition the congress in order to initiate criminal proceedings against Ruslan Imranovich. And political motivation once again comes into play here.

I have already asked the parliament to order checks on the activity of the Supreme Soviet chairman in connection with his breaches of standing orders and the Constitution. I think that this is a natural emotional impulse on the part of any deputy who cannot put up with violations of the normal activity of the Supreme Soviet. But, regrettably, my proposal was rejected: 22 deputies voted in favor of the proposed investigation in one chamber, and 24 in the other. This illustrates that Deputy Khasbulatov has the support of most deputies.

[Lukyanova] That is why the speaker is forgiven his countless breaches of standing orders. Or perhaps they're not even noticed by most deputies.

[Zolotukhin] Just don't make generalizations! If the press was more precise in its wording and avoided generalizations, there would be less trouble. Deputies do vary. It is not a vicious circle. The Constitutional Court is entitled to inquire about Deputy Khasbulatov's violations of the Constitution, as is the congress, naturally, so as to vote out a Supreme Soviet chairman who constantly breaches standing orders for some purpose of his own.

[Lukyanova] But the speaker—you have said this yourself—expresses the interests of the parliamentary majority, and they will not allow him to be voted out.

[Zolotukhin] Even were the Constitutional Court to find that many of Deputy Khasbulatov's actions are unconstitutional, that would not automatically mean his being voted out as Supreme Soviet chairman. Yet if the Constitutional Court were to find something of the sort in the president's actions, that would be enough for the congress to demand that the people's elected president resign.

[Lukyanova] What a paradox! Who adopted that law? Oh, do excuse me....

[Zolotukhin] The antireform majority. That is parliamentary democracy, if you will. And that majority likes Speaker Khasbulatov for political reasons. That is why he will stay in his post until his powers expire. There is some clash between the executive and the legislature enshrined in every country's constitution. And there is nothing wrong with that because a working constitution is based on a system of checks and balances. Then no branch of power can hold sway. That dialectical clash exists all over. I therefore cannot say that there is a struggle between two branches of power in our country. I believe that there is a struggle for supremacy between the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and the president: Who will have the last word? Who will prove more powerful—the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, whom the Constitution does not envisage holding such power, or the people's elected president? Khasbulatov's claim to unlimited power is sustaining this struggle and is the real reason behind it.

I do not rule out the possibility of his apparatus playing a prime role in formulating the Supreme Soviet chairman's concept of power.

[Lukyanova] It is well known that almost everyone in that apparatus is seen as part of "Boldin's people". Is that right?

[Zolotukhin] Yes. The more power the boss has, the more power, influence, and potential the apparatus has. When Yeltsin was Supreme Soviet chairman, he had 19 people in his secretariat. At that time the Supreme Soviet chairman was head of state. He may have needed a bigger apparatus. When the country's president emerged, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet had only to be the speaker in accordance with the powers enshrined in the Constitution. But that does not suit Ruslan Imranovich. How can he make do with a 19-man secretariat with his claims to power! There are now more than 40 people on this secretariat, more people than in the apparatus of the two largest committees. This constitutes a huge staff, whose task is to exercise Khasbulatov's powers of authority.

[Lukyanova] Stalin's ascent to unlimited power began from the secretariat. You're saying, I feel somewhat frightened....

[Zolotukhin] I agree with your feeling, since the apparatus wants to assume its share of power by taking it from those who hold power by law. The apparatus makes the demands and then you get a seemingly inoffensive directive from the speaker concerning official credentials. If it is signed by Khasbulatov, the apparatus official becomes a representative of the Supreme Soviet—more than a deputy. These credentials give the official the right to represent the Supreme Soviet—a collegial body—in all Russia's state and public establishments. Yet under the Constitution a deputy cannot represent the entire Supreme Soviet.

By law even the chairman of the Supreme Soviet does not have the right to represent the whole Supreme Soviet.

Regional Affairs

Chechnya Announces Muslim Guerrilla Group Formations

LD0701114393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Chechnya has officially announced that Muslim guerrilla detachments are being formed in the republic's mountain areas. This is being done allegedly to repulse Russian aggression.

Chechen Vice Premier Favors Agreement With Russia

LD0601172093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1243 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy January 6 TASS—The results of Chechen First Vice-Premier Yaragiy Mamodayev's recent talks in Moscow have produced contradictory repercussions in Groznyy, the Chechen capital. They were received rather coolly by the official quarters. But there are quite a few people who believe that any contacts with Moscow are important and useful today.

After his return from Moscow, Mamodayev told a press conference here that he had brought back the text of a draft treaty between the Chechen Republic and the Russian Federation, agreed with Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the House of Nationalities of the Russian parliament. It envisages the mutual delegation of certain state prerogatives.

The republic's official news service—CHECHEN-PRESS—hastened to state that under this draft the Chechen Republic would have to delegate to Russia a large number of political and economic prerogatives and would under Russia's jurisdiction as its inalienable part. [sentence as received]

Replying to this criticism of the draft, Mamodayev told journalists that it could be accepted as the basis for further negotiations. He said it was senseless to reject the treaty off-hand. "This would run counter to the interests of our people," he said.

Analysts note that Mamodayev seems to be the most sober-minded politicians in the Chechen Republic today. It is worth recalling that thanks to his efforts it was possible last November to relax the rather tense situation in the zone of confrontation between Russian and Chechen deployed in areas bordering on Ingushetia.

It was learned today that the Cabinet of Minister and the parliament of the Chechen Republic have adopted a resolution on the results of the Moscow talks. The text of the resolution has not been published so far.

North Ossetian Situation 'Remains Complex'

LD0601182993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1035 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Excerpts] Vladikavkaz, 6 Jan—According to specialists at the headquarters of the interim administration, the situation in the zone of the state of emergency remains complex. This is connected with the fact that the problem of refugees from Prigorodniy rayon is not being resolved, the local population has many firearms, and illegal armed formations are operating in the region. However, Russia's peacekeeping forces are in full control of the situation on the territories of North Ossetia and Ingushetia. Exchanges of fire and local hotbeds of armed confrontation on an interethnic basis have not been recorded here in the last 24 hours. [passage omitted]

In the past 24 hours military patrol posts inspected about 2,000 cars, and 38 were detained. Fifty-three people were detained for violating the curfew. Thirteen crimes and incidents were registered in 24 hours. Five were discovered on "hot" trails. Three suspects, inhabitants of the city, were detained when up-to-date information was being gathered on the theft of a large batch of ingots of nonferrous metals from the territory of the "Electrotz-inc" works in Vladikavkaz. [passage omitted]

According to a report from Nazran, it has become known that the inhabitants of Ingushetia will in the next few days be getting their own republican newspaper, VESTNIK INGUSHETII. Russia's Information and Press Ministry is conducting work to organize this publication.

Hurricane Hits Northern Fleet Garrisons

PM0701121993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 93 p 3

[Nikolay Sytsevich report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Hurricane 'Blew' 160 Million Rubles"]

[Text] Northern Fleet Press Center, 5 Jan—Seamen of the Northern Fleet spent the New Year festivities combating the elements. A hurricane wind, which reached speeds of 35-40 meters a second, caused a lot of trouble in fleet garrisons.

Part of the dock frontage was damaged, the chimneys of four boiler houses were brought down, and a floating dock in the city of Polyarnyy was badly damaged. Power lines were put out of commission in certain garrisons. Several beacons on the coast of the Kola Peninsula were destroyed. The wind tore from roofs 5,000 slates, 55 tonnes of roofing iron, and 21,000 square meters of roofing felt and shattered 5,500 square meters of windows. The material damage caused to the fleet is preliminarily estimated at 160 million rubles.

Reconstruction work is currently being carried out. Water and heating is being supplied to buildings without interruption in all fleet garrisons, and the electricity supply has been restored.

International Affairs

Kravchuk on Security Guarantees After Nuclear Disarmament

OW0601144893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1423 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk stated that with Boris Yeltsin he will discuss bilateral relations, the Black Sea Fleet, the implementation of the Yalta agreements, the energy and environmental problems and nuclear disarmament.

He also announced that during a telephone conversation on Tuesday [5 January], he and Boris Yeltsin decided to meet on January 15.

President Kravchuk announced this news during the reception of the French ambassador, in view of his departure to Moscow for diplomatic work.

Speaking about nuclear disarmament, Kravchuk confirmed Ukraine's commitment to the idea of attaining nuclear-free status. "However, on her own, Ukraine is unable to cope with the enormous task of eliminating nuclear weapons on its territory," he said. "In addition to that, Ukraine must have guarantees of its security," he added.

"We do not want to solve this problem at the expense of the interests of other states, but we must observe our national interests," he stated. He also pointed out that he will attend one of the next sessions of the Ukrainian parliament to answer the deputies' questions about the conclusion of the START-2 treaty.

"One can ask me, why should Ukraine eliminate its nuclear weapons if it needs security guarantees," said Kravchuk. Also, the question of compensation for the fuel contained in the warheads may arise, he added. Behind this stand economic and ecological problems, he said in conclusion.

UN Delegation Proposes Black Sea Nuclear-Free Zone

LD0601151193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Text] At a briefing at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, journalists were informed that during a discussion of the disarmament issue at the 47th session of the UN General Assembly, the Ukrainian delegation advanced a developed concept regarding Ukraine acquiring the status of a nonnuclear state and its position regarding nuclear weapons temporarily located on its territory. It was emphasized that the Ukrainian delegation stressed the need for strict international control over the transportation to Russia of strategic nuclear weapons that are to be destroyed. The delegation proposed that the representatives of UN member-states should discuss the idea of setting up a zone free from nuclear weapons in the Black Sea region, a zone of peace and cooperation.

Commentary Views Positions on START, Nonproliferation

LD0701133593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Viktor Yenikeyev commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] In an interview to the newspaper IZVESTIYA, the Ukrainian president, Leonid Kravchuk, voiced confidence that the country's parliament would ratify this January the Soviet-American treaty START I and the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. The Ukrainian leader has said that the nuclear disarmament will be discussed at the meeting with the Russian President Yeltsin due this month. And this is a commentary written by Viktor Yenikeyev:

Having signed in Moscow the START II Treaty, the presidents of Russia and the United States have posed as strivers [as heard] before the public of their and other states. Indeed this was the first ever understanding on reducing the most dangerous destabilizing nuclear arsenals of the two countries and even by two-thirds.

Ukraine's leadership, one of the four former Soviet republics possessing nuclear weapons, could, but did not, share the Moscow triumph. On the contrary the West welcomed with concern the words by Leonid Kravchuk who said that the new Russian-American treaty had nothing in common with the Ukraine. The German newspaper, WESTFALEN-BLATT, said that Ukraine refuses to sign the START I Treaty and hand over nuclear armaments to Russia for destruction. The U.S. arms control expert, Mr. (Feinstein) said Kiev's position causes alarm and the treaty may be wrecked if Ukraine decides to preserve its nuclear status.

Way back in 1990 the Ukrainian leadership first set about its readiness to become a nuclear-free state. The rejection of these deadly weapons is a difficult, costly, and lengthy process, but things have not budged an inch. The world is still not sure that Ukraine is prepared to turn its intentions into deeds. That's why the deputy Ukrainian foreign minister, Borys Tarasyuk, was forced to fly to Washington to clarify Ukraine's position on the issue and remove the growing alarm.

This former Union republic, like other Commonwealth nuclear states, needs foreign financial, technological, and other assistance to speed up the process of nuclear disarmament. Also needed are relevant international guarantees for their security. At the same time it is necessary to give up the aura of autocracy and grandeur, be it of party nomenklatura or nationalist origin, and meet halfway with more preparedness and confidence to join efforts in terms of nuclear disarmament.

By the way, those experts seem to be right who believe that Ukraine, like other Commonwealth nuclear countries, will surely join both START Treaties because they have no other political, economic, and moral option.

And that was a commentary written by Viktor Yenikeyev. His views may or may not coincide with the official position of the Russian authorities.

START I Ratification Conditions Stated

LD0601220593 Moscow Radio Rossii in Russian 2100 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Boris Tarasyuk, chairman of the Ukrainian National Committee for Questions of Disarmament, has named the conditions for ratification of the START I treaty by the Ukrainian parliament in an interview with GOLOS UKRAINY [Voice of Ukraine] newspaper. They are: first, a guarantee by the nuclear powers of Ukraine's security; second, financial assistance from the United States and other Western countries for destroying nuclear weapons; and third, compensation for the nuclear components of missiles which have been or will be removed from Ukrainian territory.

President Says CIS Charter Tramples Sovereignty

OW0701115093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1123 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has declared that at this difficult moment, the leadership of his country feels its responsibility and will not make mistakes that would result in the loss of the Ukrainian state. Speaking at the opening of the Carpathian University in Ivano-Frankovsk on Wednesday [6 January] he reaffirmed his determination not to sign the CIS charter, which he described as trampling on Ukraine's sovereignty.

The president said that the Ukrainian leadership will advocate the independent status of the country for which the overwhelming majority of the population voted in the December 1991 referendum.

In Ivano-Frankovsk he also met workers in the timber and light industries.

Further on Kravchuk's Refusal

PM0601163793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 93 p 3

[Anatoliy Polyakov report: "Leonid Kravchuk: Ukraine Will Not Sign CIS Charter"]

[Text] Last Monday, 4 January, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk gathered together approximately 100 people—representatives of all parties and movements in the republic—to exchange opinions on Ukraine's attitude to the possible signing of the CIS Charter in Minsk 22 January.

At first glance you got the feeling that people representing the entire spectrum of Ukrainian society participated in the discussion. But, on the other hand, this question arises: Why is the border problem, which is so important not only to Ukraine, being discussed not at a plenary session of the Supreme Soviet or even in its commissions? In particular, Aleksandr Moroz, chairman of the Socialist Party's Political Council, pondered on this.

It is not a chance question, for it is an open secret that Ukraine's parties represent far from millions or even hundreds of thousands of people. As a rule, they are quite small. The president evidently needed just a semblance of a discussion of the attitude to the CIS Charter and support for the decision which had already matured in Kiev's official milieu. Leonid Kravchuk received such support.

Mikhail Goryn, Ivan Drach, and Dmitriy Pavlychko declared the impossibility of Ukraine's signing the CIS Charter. Vyacheslav Chornovil recalled that Rukh had already adopted a decision on Ukraine's secession from the Commonwealth, and he called the signing of the charter, if it took place, a coup d'etat. Stepan Khmara called for secession from the CIS and for nuclear weapons to be renounced on no account.

The timid proposals made at the meeting that the charter's economic provisions be signed were not heeded. Doubt was voiced as to the Ukrainian nationality of the representative of the Peasant Party—who proposed signing the charter—because he spoke in Russian.

The provisions of the CIS Charter do not coincide with the fundamental interests of the people of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk summed up in a concluding speech, and so they cannot be signed. He remarked that there are forces in Ukraine which want to see it as part of the Union, but if it were to act as such an initiator, it would find itself alone. Relations in the CIS now are quite different to what they were just a few months ago.

Kravchuk attempted to substantiate his reluctance to sign the CIS Charter. He referred to the British Commonwealth of Nations, which has member states, but there are no common documents or programs. The CIS Charter also must not be signed, the Ukrainian president declared, because it does not have the necessary appendixes. "We can examine the full set of documents," Kravchuk said, "but for now let them prepare them, let them carry on meeting even for 10 years."

He disagreed with those who believe that on the signing of the charter Ukraine will be flooded with energy sources, of which it has a catastrophic shortage. For example, in Kiev there is gasoline only for dollars, and almost 90 percent of the motor vehicle pool is standing idle. According to Leonid Kravchuk, Boris Yeltsin sent a telegram reporting that Russia is setting an oil quota not for a specific republic but an overall quota for all the CIS countries. Ukraine and the other states must themselves conclude contracts with Tyumen or Yakutia. Of course, if the charter is not signed, the Ukrainian president agreed, economic pressure will be brought to bear on us,

but no one will issue instructions to open up the oil valves for Ukraine even if it were to sign the charter.

"I was secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and I declare that the former Union was an empire. Therefore I will always struggle against imperial relations," Leonid Kravchuk ended the discussion of the charter and ruled out signing it.

Official Briefs French Delegation on Stand on Treaties

LD0601180893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Text] Vasyl Durdynets, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, on 5 January met a delegation from the main directorate of the French gendarmerie and Hugues Pernet, ambassador of France to Ukraine. Taking the guests' interest into account, the first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine dwelt on certain central issues of the foreign policy of Ukraine. It was emphasized that the position of the state is clear and consistent. In prospect, Ukraine should be nonnuclear, neutral, and outside any blocs. A thorough preparation is going on at the Supreme Council for examination at the session of ratifying the treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive weapons and acceding to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. A deputies' working group is in operation. Commissions are analyzing the documents. This issue deserves an all-round and reasoned approach. There is a need to study all the aspects, analyze deeply what the consequences of ratification would be for Ukraine, and whether there would be guarantees of its security.

Sanctions Against Serbia Leave Cargoes Stranded

PM0501142193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 93 p 1

[Arkadiy Pasechnik report under the "Brief and Clear" rubric: "Sanctions Against Yugoslavia, But Ukraine Suffers"]

[Text] Hundreds of sailors of Ukraine's Danube Shipping Company, as A. Tekhov, its chief, has reported, greeted the New Year on the Danube. Because of the sanctions against Yugoslavia, the Romanian and Hungarian authorities have banned ships from transiting through their waters. Many ships have found themselves blockaded in the Hungarian port of Mohacs alone. According to Tekhov's calculations, losses have totaled more than $500,000 since the sanctions have been in force. Who will reimburse them?

Agreement Signed on Combating Chernobyl Aftermath

PM0401170193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 93 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Mikhail Shimanskiy: "Belarus-Ukraine: Fighting the Chernobyl Disaster Together"]

[Text] An agreement between the Governments of Belarus and Ukraine on joint actions to minimalize and overcome the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster has come into force.

The document incorporates a large package of measures. In particular, common approaches and normatives on the assessment and long-term forecasting of the radiation situation; the elaboration of measures to enable people to live safely in contaminated areas; identification and implementation of the most important scientific research connected with the protection of the population; regeneration of the environment, and much else.

Vice Premier, Delegation Leave for Moscow Talks

LD0701085293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] A government delegation from Ukraine is leaving on a visit to Moscow on 7 January. It will be headed by Vice Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk. Leaders of a number of leading ministries and departments are part of the composition of the delegation. We were informed by the press service of the Cabinet of Ministers that the delegation's aim is to discuss a wide range of bilateral relations, in light of the next Ukrainian-Russian meeting in Moscow at the highest level.

To Discuss Soviet Foreign Debt

OW0701123293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1124 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Ukrainian government delegation led by Vice-Premier Viktor Pynzenyk is expected to arrive in Moscow on Thursday [7 January]. The two sides will discuss a wide range of questions, in view of the Russian-Ukrainian summit on January 15.

Well-informed sources in Kiev believe that Pynzenyk will again raise the issue of the Soviet foreign debt. On December 31, 1992 the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry sent a note to its Russian opposite, saying that due to the reluctance of Russia to begin the division of former Soviet property abroad, Ukraine refuses to recognize Russia as the legal successor of the debts and assets of the Soviet Union abroad.

Ukraine's share in the combined foreign debt of the USSR is 16.4%. All other CIS countries have actually surrendered the right to service their share of former Soviet assets to Russia.

Under the November 1992 Russian-Ukrainian protocol, Ukraine gave Russia the right to negotiate the postponement of the foreign debt until the end of the year, on the condition that by that date Moscow and Kiev sign a separate agreement on the foreign debt and assets of the former USSR.

National Affairs

Officers To Form Body To Retain Nuclear Weapons

LD0601194293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The Crimean branch of the Union of Officers of Ukraine, which also has members in the Black Sea Fleet, and the Crimean Committee of the Ukrainian National Assembly are planning to set up a committee for the protection and preservation of nuclear weapons in Ukraine. This was reported by the press service of the Crimea with Ukraine Association.

Representatives of these organizations claim that only Ukraine itself can be a guarantor of the security of Ukraine. They say the aspirations of certain political circles of our state to ratify treaties concluded by third countries are unmotivated. According to the Crimean officers, nuclear weapons must guard the freedom and independence of Ukraine for as long as other states have such weapons.

Ministry Says Families Should Evacuate Chernobyl Zone

OW0601204893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1903 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The session of the Ministry on Protection of the Population From the Consequences of the Catastrophe at the Chernobyl Atomic Power Station held on Wednesday [6 January] declared that more than 10 thousand families should be moved from the contaminated zone. The representatives of local administrations, ministries, and departments participating in the liquidation of the aftermath attended the session.

The participants of the session supported the idea of a competitive selection of subcontract organizations to build the living houses for the settlers and to additionally stimulate the builders.

Parties Form Council, Issue Statement Backing Kuchma

LD0601190593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] A conference of leaders of political parties, public organizations, and religious confessions has taken place at the Kiev Oblast state administration. The Council of Civic Accord [Rada Hromadskoyi Zlahody] was set up at the conference, and a statement was adopted in support of the (?appeal) of Leonid Kuchma, prime minister of Ukraine. In particular, it said that it is necessary to curtail (?those) forms of political work temporarily, which could lead to instability in society, while the economy is coming out of a crisis. Eighteen political parties, public organizations, and religious confessions have joined the Council of Civic Accord. The People's Movement of Ukraine, the Socialist Party, and the Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party, refused to sign the above-mentioned document. We were informed of this today by the press service of the presidential representative of Kiev Oblast.

Assembly Urges Further Independence From CIS

LD0601181893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The Ukrainian National Assembly has made a statement public. It expresses support for the course of the leadership of our state towards further independent development. It concerns the current version of the CIS statute. Ukraine is being pushed by pro-imperial forces to sign it, the statement stresses, but this does not correspond to the interests of the Ukrainian people. The leaders of the Assembly believe that our future lies in constructing our own state, focusing on our own strength, and in cooperation with other countries based on international principles and on equal terms.

Military Establishes Control Communications System

OW0701131493 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 5 Jan 93

[V. Lyashko report; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] [Begin Lyashko recording] I would like to mention one more event. The first training sessions of the Ukrainian National Army were held at the Carpathian Military District base, and the Signal Troops took part in the exercises. They were mastering systems to ensure communications and control with various types of units.

After concluding the training, Lieutenant General Georgiy Zhivitsa, first deputy minister of defense of the Ukraine, told journalists that the Ukraine is creating its own system of control and communications from Kiev. The control and communications channels from Moscow have been switched off. To ensure the safety of flights and border crossings, the Ukrainian system will connect with neighboring states, and an agreement to this effect has already been signed with some of them. A proprietary communication link for the Black Sea Fleet is being created. [end recording]

Parliament To Discuss Economic Program

OW0701142993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1313 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [6 January] in Kiev a joint session of the presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and the Cabinet of Ministers made a decision to consider the governmental program of economic reforms in the second half of January. The government will receive freedom of actions thanks to the adoption of the program by the parliament.

The program foresees lowering the industrial recession in 1993, measures to overcome inflation, creation of a basis to achieve financial stability, increasing industrial production, and creation of an effective mechanism to distribute the goods on a market basis.

The Wednesday session also discussed the measures of social protection of the population, combat with corruption and organized crime.

Cabinet of Ministers Adopts Economic Decrees

WS0601134293 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 8 Dec 92 p 1

[Report by V. Vernodubenko: "The Ukrainian Government Has Adopted Its First Decrees"]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers took place on 2 December under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma. It adopted decrees which had to be introduced in the current tough economic situation in Ukraine. Four decrees and two resolutions were adopted. For example, one of these documents deals with the abolishment of duty fees on the transfer of hard currency to private Ukrainian citizens from abroad. Another decree permits Ukrainian citizens, who have opened hard currency accounts in authorized banks, to freely withdraw their deposits. This means people will not hesitate to deposit hard currency in the Ukrainian banks.

"Another decree deals with the protection against the crisis of payments," said Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine V. Pynzenyk. "We are introducing a tax exemption for that part of income used by enterprises to increase their working capital quota. It is envisioned that a progressive income tax on the incomes exceeding 60,000 coupons per month will be introduced." According to Pynzenyk, this measure will help deter enterprise managers and organizations from significantly raising their own wages. A resolution on state pensions, in connection with the introduction of the new minimum wage, was also reviewed. All the pensions will be recalculated according to the new coefficient. The second resolution deals with measures to be taken in connection with the increase in the minimum wage.

In addition to the set agenda, a discussion was held on the rational use of oil. For example, the issue of attempts by commercial enterprises to ship large quantities of oil abroad was raised. This oil, however, is part of the quota for Ukraine as set by agreements with Russia.

V. Pynzenyk concluded: "I fully agree with the point of view of my partner, Vice Prime Minister Yuliy Ioffe. If this oil is a part of the Ukraine's quota, it is intended for Ukrainian consumption and we cannot allow it to be sold in the West. No one bans oil shipments, but it should be done through legal means and outside the quota."

Cabinet Decrees Increase of Wages, Pensions

AU0701112493 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 31 Dec 92 p 10

["Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers Decree on Raising Minimal Wages and Pension"; issued in Kiev on 29 December]

[Text] Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers Decrees as follows:

1. To institute, from 1 January 1993, minimum monthly wages and old-age pensions amounting to 4,600 Ukrainian karbovanets.

The minimum wages do not include additional payments, bonuses, money awards, or other financial incentives.

2. To determine that, in 1993, state enterprises will direct capital for remunerating labor (both basic and additional payments) not higher than the sum estimated proceeding from the average wages of one worker in 1990 increased by a factor of 57.5; in the case of those enterprises that have exceeded this limit—at the level of the average wages that was effective in November 1992.

Enterprises must deposit, every month, the full sum of the capital paid in excess of that estimated above in corresponding budgets from the profit that remains at their disposal.

3. To suspend the action of item 1 of Ukraine's Supreme Council decree issued on 16 November 1992 "On Raising Minimal Wages and Pensions."

[Signed] L. Kuchma, Ukraine's prime minister

A. Lobov, minister of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers

[Dated] Kiev, 29 December 1992

* * *

The decree was adopted at the meeting of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers on 29 December 1992. In conformity with the current legislation, this decree will become effective unless the Supreme Council vetoes it within 10 days.

Economic Commission Head on Reforms

WS0701133693 Kiev KYYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 8 Dec 92 p 1

[Interview with V. Pylypchuk, head of the Supreme Soviet Commission for Economic Reform and National Economy Management, under the "At First Hand" rubric, by P. Vasyanovych: "I Risk Being Unpopular, But the Reforms Should Be Carried Out Firmly"]

[Text] **Remember, in his first major speech as prime minister, L. Kuchma said that we needed a large scale program of reforms, and the leading Ukrainian economists Pylypchuk, Lanovyy, and Chernyak were invited to elaborate it. Time has passed, and we asked Volodymyr Mefodiyovych Pylypchuk, head of the Supreme Soviet Commission for Economic**

Reform and National Economy Management, one question: "How is the cooperation going?"

[Pylypchuk] The State Commission for Economic Reform, which I have been invited to join, so far has had no full sessions. But I often visit the government, our legislative commission provides expert evaluations of government decrees, and on the other hand, passes the prepared resolutions to the Cabinet of Ministers.

[Vasyanovych] What about the promised large-scale program of reforms? Resolutions and decrees are good, but a general plan of action is also needed.

[Pylypchuk] We have had more than enough programs. In two years, we have elaborated a detailed plan of reforms, to mention our commission's proposals on denationalization of state property and managing system, the reform of the budget and tax systems, the development of market infrastructure, the reform of wages and social protection, the introduction of our own currency, the liberalization of prices and foreign economic activity, the reform of agriculture, and so on. All this remains actual, it does not have to be invented anew. The implementation of these reforms is quite a different matter. Let it be a decree, not a program; the point is how to get things going.

[Vasyanovych] Do you think the government really wants to carry out reforms? Among the cabinet members, there are people with different political views. Not long ago, some of them openly advocated a strictly centralized regulation of production, and opposed privatization. And now?

[Pylypchuk] The government in general wants to carry out reforms. Some of the past conservatives changed their views, some had progressive views in the past, but, so to say, refrained from expressing them. Only the "agricultural block" in the government disturbs me—they are so reluctant to launch reforms. We will loose again, if we do not carry it out by March, before farmers begin working in the fields. It is not hard to imagine what it can lead to. Some of our future troubles can be forecasted and prevented even now. Did we not warn in spring, that if the financial reform were not carried out, we would have hyperinflation, a collapse of the financial system? We did, but nobody lifted a finger. And in general, provided we had started the reforms a year earlier and had not wasted time, we would have prevented the current crisis. Sooner or later they, all the same, arrive at the ideas expressed by the commission, but at what price? They say: "Pylypchuk and other theorists".... What theorists? We propose concrete decisions. Anyway, I am warning again, we should begin the reform with agriculture. If this does not happen, I will be in opposition to the government on this issue. However, my opposition is a trifle, the point is that we will get ourselves into trouble....

[Vasyanovych] Will you be in opposition to the Cabinet of Ministers on this issue alone?

[Pylypchuk] Principally, yes. In general, our stances with regard to reforms coincide, there are only tactical differences. For example, I support the thesis that we need more middlemen in order to increase production. They counter with: "Why produce more profiteers?" But this is an elementary economic law: competition among the middlemen will result in an increase in purchase prices, and, thus, a decrease in retail prices. In order to be ahead of his competitor, a middleman will try to pay a higher price to the producer, and to sell at a lower price to the consumer. As a result of this, some of them will go bankrupt and will be forced to become producers themselves.

[Vasyanovych] Production, I think, should be stimulated at the same time....

[Pylypchuk] There can only be one stimulus for production: a portion of a wage, the smaller one, should be guaranteed; the larger portion should only be paid if the final product is well made. We must also have 4 to 5 percent unemployment, so that every worker remembers that his job is wanted by someone else, and if he does not work well, he will be replaced. This will stimulate production, there is no other way to do it. I understand that due to these ideas, I risk being unpopular, but there is no other way out. We should develop competition among producers, among enterprises, between native and foreign companies. Otherwise, we will not get out of this trouble.

[Vasyanovych] Much depends upon the forms of ownership. What is your attitude toward the conversion of enterprises into joint-stock companies and the transition of the means of production into the workers' hands?

[Pylypchuk] You know, collective property is the worst form of property ever invented. Imagine workers owning an enterprise and hiring someone to manage it. To build up production and to improve its quality, a manager would have to find ways to make personnel work harder and better. Workers would not like that and, being the owners, would convene a meeting and replace him with a "kinder" manager. If property belongs to all, and to nobody in particular, everyone tries to do less and to earn more. To my mind it would be perfect if workers of one enterprise would be the owners of another. But this, of course, is not realistic. This is why I advocate the conversion of enterprises into open joint-stock companies with the controlling block of stock owned by their staff. Otherwise, no progress will be achieved, and there will be a series of bankruptcies, followed by changes in ownership. Is it not better to avoid this ordeal?

[Vasyanovych] Are you an optimist?

[Pylypchuk] I like Kuchma's firm stance and his ambition. But even if the reforms are launched now, the decline will last for at least another half a year according to the law of inertia. It means we have to be patient, we cannot do without reforms.

Belarus

Prime Minister Kebich Endorses CIS Charter

OW0601194993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1902 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his interview with the governmental newspaper "SOVIET BELARUS" on Wednesday [6 January] Vyacheslav Kebich, the Belarusian Prime Minister, declared that the adoption of the CIS Charter could become the beginning of a new Commonwealth. The Premier underlined that "he sees no other way out except the creation of an economic union."

According to Kebich, not a single political agreement concluded in Belaya Vezha a year ago "does not work today." "The moral has been violated and every member of the Commonwealth takes care only of his own interests ignoring the interests of his neighbor," said the head of the Belarusian government.

He also reported that the cabinet of ministers is developing a special program to prevent unemployment so the republic can really face its growth in the near future. The Premier underlined that the government plans to fight this social evil developing the sphere of services.

Representative to CIS Council Resigns

OW0601215293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1748 GMT 6 Jan 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin and edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Belarusian representative in the working group of the CIS council of heads of state and government Dmitriy Bulakhov has resigned.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: His previous tender of resignation was rejected by parliament last February.

In an exclusive interview with INTERFAX, Bulakhov said his decision was caused by the uncertain status of the post he held. And he added that he could no longer put up with the idea of being a mere technical expert. The Belarusian official however warned against seeing his resignation as a one of political consideration or political gambling.

Bulakhov described the Commonwealth as a viable international organisation having a great future. He praised a call by last month's Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow for closer union of the former Soviet republics, an idea that he said was likely to evoke a positive response from the Belarusian parliament. Bulakhov said the parliament had already prepared a relevant paper. At the same time, the official is convinced of the need for closer rapproachment within the CIS rather than any other new structure.

Bulakhov said he would continue in charge of the law commission and as member of the parliamentary leadership.

IF Note: At present, government secretary for CIS affairs Vladimir Zalomay represents his country's interests within the organisation.

Communist Party, Komsomol Hold Aniversary Meeting

WS0601133493 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1433 GMT 4 Jan 93

["For Some It Is the CIS, While for Others It Is the USSR"—BELINFORM headline]

[Text] The Belarusian Communist Party and the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League held their grand meeting on the occasion of the 70th USSR and the 74th Komsomol anniversaries in Minsk. These days are no longer state holidays.

The appeal to the Belarusian citizens, people's deputies, and all Soviet people calls the full sovereignty of the republics outside the Union a lie. It says that the amorphous CIS must be substituted for the union of Soviet nations.

Chairman Shushkevich on Aims of Visit to PRC

LD0601192793 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Belarus could learn from China's experience in carrying out reforms, Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, told a XINHUA correspondent. As the agency reports today, with reference to his remarks, the objective of his visit to the PRC, which will take place from 8 to 12 January, is to demonstrate the great significance the Republic of Belarus attaches to its relations with China. Touching on bilateral cooperation, Shushkevich spoke of the possibility of expanding exchange of powerful vehicles and electronic equipment produced in Belarus for Chinese consumer goods.

Shushkevich Interviewed on Current Issues

WS0601133093 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 12 Dec 92 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Supreme Council Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich by ZVYAZDA correspondent V. Tsygankov in Minsk; date not given: "Stanislav Shushkevich: 'Correct Political Course Is an Art'"]

[Text] There have been quite a few interviews, "direct lines", etc. with Stanislav Stanislavovich Shushkevich in our press. But the journalists (please, colleagues, do not

be angry with me!) were first of all interested in Shushkevich as a politician, a chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Council, while "direct lines" questions were centered mainly around issues of prices, pensions, the CIS, and a republic-wide referendum.

I wanted something else. So, I asked Shushkevich to give a "human", ""personal", "family" interview, or in short, an apolitical interview. Having read the questions, Shushkevich agreed to be interviewed. So now, at 8 a.m., we are sitting in the study of the chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Council. Over Shushkevich's chair is the portrait of Francisk Skaryna and close to the chair is the Belarusian national flag.

Our dialogue lasted more than an hour. It turned out that political issues took more time than I had expected. I got the impression that Stanislav Stanislavovich was inclined to speak on those "most political", "mainly soviet" topics. I cannot agree with some of his judgments and conclusions but... Let us listen to Shushkevich himself.

[Tsygankov] In what way did your routine life change over the past year? I know one thing—you start your work at 8 a.m. When do you return home?

[Shushkevich] During sessions, I usually spend an hour or two in this study to put some necessary documents in order, and then go home. Actually, I currently spend less time at work than before when I was lecturing at the university. I never came home earlier than 9 p.m.; however, now, I sometimes manage to be home earlier than that.

[Tsygankov] Can you rest at home? Do you work at home?

[Shushkevich] My current life differs greatly from my "university life". Now, I never work with official documents at home. The most productive time for work are the morning hours before work. During the morning hours from 6 a.m. to 7 a.m. or 7:30 a.m., I can do more than for three or four hours in the evening. As a rule, I do not write complete texts of my speeches but only some points for discussion, a plan or guideline. It goes without saying, I meet with politicians of different political approaches and I highly appreciate their views and evaluations which do not coincide with mine. I believe that I must get competent information on every issue. The morning hours are for that.

[Tsygankov] What about your bodyguards? Maybe it is a state secret? Do they guard your house, your summer home, and you when you are working at your private plot?

[Shushkevich] Yes, there are some rules, some decrees from the past which presuppose all such things. All is done in accordance with set form and I would like to point out that these regulations are sensible and well grounded. Bodyguards are necessary so that no "volunteer" can influence the authorities. Besides, bodyguards limit time losses on nonproductive contacts with people who believe that if they explain something to me, I will take their point of view. Usually, they talk about things that I already know.

[Tsygankov] If you do not mind, let us discuss the topic of a statesman from another standpoint. Have your friends, acquaintances, or you yourself noticed any changes in your behavior, habits, or character?

[Shushkevich] You had better ask my friends and acquaintances. As for me, I believe that if a person's character changes together with the change in his position, then he is a disreputable man. But you must realize that I have never felt such responsibility before. Being a dynamic and a responsible person, I do not let matters stand and, currently, I must be more efficient than ever before... So, when a deputy from the old fermented party guard remarked at a session: they say that Shushkevich has not even bothered to look through his speech which has been written for him by someone else, I answered at once that only a man who is capable of such things himself, could suspect other people. To my present mind, I had to make a break in the session, because this deputy did not even let the text of his speech out of his sight.

[Tsygankov] Do you feel the weight of your power?

[Shushkevich] No. But the problem is that, with us, power is viewed as means to solve personal housing, pension, or property problems. I absolutely support the division of power. So, when the issue is out of the Supreme Council's competence I can only address an appropriate official and try to convince him to do things my way, not more. In such cases, some people bear a grudge against me... I could, of course, find a way to play fast and loose with the official who did not carry out my recommendation, but I never do such things. Only in cases when injustice is too blatant can I start to decide myself. When a compromise is possible I hand the case over to the appropriate authorities.

[Tsygankov] So, can you, finally, after those three years, call yourself a politician?

[Shishkevich] No. In my opinion, the people who currently call themselves politicians, in fact, are not. To be an expert politician, one must have a specific education in the field of politics . My education in this field is chaotic, and intuition cannot bring you very far. Even when I consider myself a politician, when it seems to me that I have done something praiseworthy, like, for example, defending our national interests and stances at international talks, I later find out that I have used quite an ordinary method which is included in textbooks...

A politician must have all the necessary qualifications.

I liked the Slovak system of diplomatic education. When I spoke to the Slovak officials, I noticed only shrewd young eyes which refused to take everything on trust, etc. With us, unfortunately, we are constantly shuffling the same old pack. Please, pay attention, with what inspiration do they, "who are fully devoted to the ideas of the

Communist Party"—as they were characterized earlier—now teach our future diplomats? Currently, they are teaching the young generation. Some of the former communist ideologists are in high places. Maybe they are not chiefs, but as a rule, they are deputy chiefs of some educational institutions. And what I would like to stress is that the same people with their old views, mainly demagogues, remained in the leading posts in the field of social sciences.

[Tsygankov] Once you mentioned that, as a rule, politicians have no friends. Did you mean any politician or yourself?

[Shushkevich] Well... It seems to me I was not very categorical when I mentioned it.... You see, a correct political course is an art. Friendly relations among artists are exceptional. Please, name me the politicians who were true friends to each other. Later, history shows that was not a friendship. Politics is a unique sphere of human relations.

[Tsygankov] To tell you the truth, the comparison of politics with an art is rather new, well, to me at least. An artist has a brush or paper while a politician has people... My next question is: why did you join the CPSU?

[Shushkevich] I believed in communist ideals. It happened like this. I was transferred from the university to the Radio Technical Institute to occupy the position of a pro-rector. I was told that I had to be a party member in such a position. At that time, I considered that the communist idea itself was perfect but the methods of its implementation were incorrect. I joined the Communist Party in 1968. Four years earlier, my father who was discharged from a prison in 1956, joined the Party. I had a frank talk with him. He spoke like this: The communist idea is perfect but all the time different crooks seize the power, that is why there should be more honest people in the Party....

[Tsygankov] In what way may the idea be perfect if it can be realized only through a dictatorship?

[Shushkevich] At that time, I thought that good music could be performed correctly, only the musicians were wicked. Today, I am convinced that the idea itself is utopian because it creates structures that do not care about people and mind their own interests. The future is also dark: some people can and must develop their own abilities and work honestly, while the others can develop their "demands" and be users. This idea fails to create a normal party and if we start from the very beginning, the results will be the same, only with other actors on the stage. Taking into consideration this fact, we can understand that those deputies who had been party functionaries do not care much about honesty. I am ashamed to see how some deputies consider their personal interests in getting state apartments, private plots, and building summer houses. Sometimes, having read some revealing information in a newspaper concerning some of the deputies, I expect them to institute proceedings, but, in reality, nothing of the kind happens.

[Tsygankov] You like to say to this kind of deputy at the session: "I follow the majority." But you do not add: "Unfortunately," or "Willingly".

[Shushkevich] I believe you understand all this. Pay attention, I do not always vote together with the majority. Sometimes, the "majority deputies" are offended when the legislative chairman does not share their point of view. This is normal. Sometimes I am among the minority deputies and try to keep my own point of view.

[Tsygankov] Presidency is a good means of getting rid of the sour destiny to obey the majority. I believe that you have all the chances to become the first Belarusian president. Nevertheless, you oppose presidency in Belarus. Why?

[Shushkevich] Excuse me, I opposed this idea some time ago. I think I was right. Analyzing the situation in the countries of the former USSR, I did not notice any advantages in the presidential countries; in fact, the contrary was true. Currently, I do not oppose the idea of presidency, but my stand is simply neutral.

I think, we will adopt presidency together with the new constitution. But I support a delay in the introduction of the presidency in Belarus. At the same time, I am against a president who will serve as a figurehead for ceremonial procedures. If I see that such a president comes into being, I will try to become a deputy again. A ceremonial president is supposed to exist in highly developed countries, where the management of the national economy, the system of personnel training, and the appropriate legislative and executive structures are well established. With us, our legislature is an amateur symphony orchestra and no conductor can perform a piece of music with it.

[Tsygankov] Georgian philosopher Merab Mamerdashvili once said: "If the Georgian people elect Gamsakhurdia, I will be against my people." Would you be able to say anything of the kind? What is your attitude toward the phrase: "The people make no mistakes?"

[Shushkevich] Unfortunately, the people, too, make mistakes, or, to be more precise, the people, too, can be deceived. Let us recall Hitler's referenda, for instance....Politicians, intellectuals, the educational system should care about a high level of political, cultural, national consciousness. If such a level exists, the nation is impossible to deceive. In our country, unfortunately, in some places, fear is governing, especially in rural areas .... We should create the conditions for the people to act consciously. We have found ourselves on the eve of such events, because I am not sure that the Supreme Soviet would be capable of solving some fundamental issues of constitutional character. I think the time will come for holding a referendum on some most principal, basic issues.

[Tsygankov] Still, if you see that the Belarusian nation is making mistakes, will you, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, be together with your people, or will you warn them about going "astray"?

[Shushkevich] I think we will not come to this. If we come to a referendum, its results are not to be discussed; they are to be obeyed.

[Tsygankov] Do you not find the current composition of the Supreme Soviet a deception of the people?

[Shushkevich] Neither you nor I have a right to say so. The most democratic elections of all times have taken place. I think that in the very next elections, people will be able to better orient themselves, and, I am sure, we will have fewer demagogues.

[Tsygankov] The opposition, however , is not that "mild" in its attitude toward the present Supreme Soviet. Zyanon Paznyak wrote and said a number of unpleasant things also about you. Why do you not respond to him? Is this due to political reasons, your respect for him, or on some other ground?

[Shushkevich] You know, for some of his deeds, I cannot admire him personally. Paznyak sees in many deputies and members of the government mostly criminal intentions; there can be no respect to speak of, considering his approach to the matter. I do not find it necessary to respond to his words about my being a disguised apparatchik. I was born here, a lot of people know me, and imputing something to me on the basis of abstract meditations instead of facts, is not serious....

Unfortunately, along with all his talent and education, Paznyak sometimes overestimates his influence on the society. And if this society treats someone better than it treats him, Paznyak considers this person a trickster and almost a criminal. This is why I am not going to argue with him. We can discuss ideas, the more so because in this field, we have much in common.

[Tsygankov] In your recent journeys you have said that you highly appreciate and respect the contribution of the Belarus National Front [BNF] to the revival of the language, culture, and self-consciousness. By saying so, have you not been diminishing the political role of the BNF?

[Shushkevich] I am not diminishing it. I do not want to join in the chorus blaming the BNF for its foreign contacts. If a certain SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIA observer criticizes Paznyak for this, it means she does not amount to a tenth of what Paznyak is. An educated man cannot do without contacts, and when she writes that "somewhere an institute has been created to enslave us"... you know, only a fool can be persuaded into believing this, and not an educated man.

[Tsygankov] In one of the articles carried by SVOBODNYYE NOVOSTI, I once wrote that Shushkevich and Kebich are secret political adversaries. I suggest that you either confirm or contradict it now.

[Shushkevich] I believe that the nearest future will show that in both of us the feeling of responsibility overwhelms all the other feelings. It is clear that my approach, and, to some extent, that of the Supreme Soviet, do not always coincide with the wishes of the government. And this is natural! And we should find a common solution in the interests of the state. Once a certain group of political figures has a point of view different from that of another group, why compete? In my opinion, this is a normal phenomenon, the search for the truth. I consider Vyachaslav Frantsavich [Kebich] a very talented and hard working man, and working with him is a pleasure.

[Tsygankov] Considering this response, you unjustly call yourself "not a politician".... However, another question: You keep underlining your friendly attitude toward Russia. At the same time, in your New Year address, you spoke of "200 years of our oppression." How do you treat Russia not like a politician, but like a Belarus intellectual—in the geopolitical, philosophical sense?

[Shushkevich] You know, my answer is banal and hackneyed: There are the people, and there is the government. At the present moment, the policy of the Russian state is, to a great extent, determined by the democratically elected legislature and president. This is why, today, to a great extent, I identify the people, the government, and the president. In this sense I treat Russia only positively. We have similar characters with Russians, in general, a lot of common approaches—there can be no opposition. Do Russians feel unhappy in Belarus, or do Belarusians feel unhappy in Russia?

But when we speak of Russia's national interests, and when certain spheres of Russian politicians consider that Belarus should be some appendage of Russia, my attitude toward such people and such ideas is very negative. I have never liked imperial ambitions and I would prefer us to build normal democratic relations on the principles elaborated in the world.

[Tsygankov] It is understood that the essence of politics is the maintenance of normal relations with all the states. But orientation is possible not only on the political level, but on the cultural and moral levels as well. Will we ever have to choose more precise historic orientations?

[Shushkevich] Excuse me, this is the same kind of question as: "What to choose—communism or capitalism?" This option does not exist, I want to underline this. We do not have to choose—we do not see enemies anywhere. There is no question of choice. With Russia itself we have been tied so closely, that a very long time will pass before we regulate our relations, put them on a purely legislative ground.

[Tsygankov] Do you have people responsible for the creation of your image in your service staff?

[Shushkevich] No, I do not. In the Supreme Soviet, we have structures responsible for the adequate information of the public on the policy and decisions of the Supreme

Soviet, its presidium, and commissions. This service should take care of ideas and concepts, not of persons. What concerns me personally, only I can take care of my convictions.

[Tsygankov] But you are not just Stanislav Stanislavovich Shushkevich, but also the head of the state.

[Shushkevich] ...I am not the head of the state, I am a top official of the Republic of Belarus—this is how it is written in the active Constitution of our Republic.

[Tsygankov] The number one official, to be more precise.

[Shushkevich] Exactly.

[Tsygankov] Mitterrand and Clinton have their television commercials....

[Shushkevich] So far, I do not have any and do not plan to have any. Although, I have a couple of presents—video cassettes with the recordings of my speeches abroad. We can even watch them now, because I do not have a VCR at home, and you have it here. I am not going to play the hypocrite: I like watching them from time to time, this is also a way to control if I do not make mistakes in my speeches. So far these "commercials" have not made me blush.

[Tsygankov] You once stated that your family is not delighted with your current job. Where and how does it show? What do you think, could Bill Clinton have become the President of the United States if he had said that his wife had not shared his political ambitions?

[Shushkevich] You are comparing incomparable things. In the United States, the Constitution was adopted 200 years ago, they grew up in a democracy, while we are living through a transitional period, and during a transitional period, contradictions even within one family are a normal thing, and I do not see anything strange in this.

There are problems in which we have discrepancies. My wife was raised in a military environment—Kostroma, Omsk, Moscow, and she has a different approach toward a number of issues.

My wife is engaged in social activity in the sense of charity, helping children. Here I want to emphasize that during her foreign journeys, there was no financing on the side of any state or legislative structures. Thus, in the sphere of social activity, she is engaged in the things it is logical to be engaged in, and it is to the benefit of Belarus.

[Tsygankov] Have you been baptized?

[Shushkevich] I think I was secretly baptized by my grandmother, but it is evident that I was not baptized in either an Orthodox or Catholic church.

[Tsygankov] How real is this "I think" of yours?

[Shushkevich] It is 100 percent certain, as my grandmother lived and died a convinced Catholic. In her time, when she married my Orthodox grandfather, she even managed to "reshape" him in such a way that their wedding ceremony was held in a Catholic church. This is a well-known story in our family. In general, I am trying to examine this, I have even found records in church register books, but I am not yet ready to answer your question in more detail.

[Tsygankov] And how would you determine yourself?

[Shushkevich] I would limit myself to this answer: I treat the Christian morale and the Christian approach with great respect, by the way, the code of the builder of communism was written on their basis, the one that everyone repeated, but not everyone observed.

Officials Meet Polish Government Delegation on Border

WS0601133493 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1433 GMT 4 Jan 93

["To the Neighbors' Friendship in the New Year"—BELINFORM headline]

[Text] Just a few hours before the New Year, a meeting of the Belarusian and Polish Government delegations took place in the "Warsaw Bridge" visitors' home of the border control post. The heads of the Foreign Economic Relations Departments, the leaders of the customs and border services, and commercial representatives participated in it.

Speaking of the purpose of the talks, Vladimir Radkevich, chairman of the Belarusian State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, stressed that it was necessary to sum up the results of the good neighborly cooperation and to outline a definite path for its future expansion. He characterized the previous year as fruitful for both countries in the spheres of economic, political, and cultural life. For example, commodity circulation between Belarus and Poland reached $300 million, which twice exceeds the amount in 1991. Belarus and Poland established 200 joint ventures and opened missions in different cities. Recently, a joint intergovernment commission started its work; its first meeting showed that all conditions existed for the expansion of cooperation.

Both sides thoroughly analyzed the issue of establishing a joint Belarusian-Polish bank which could solve all financial issues. An agreement in principle was reached to open such a bank within the next three or four months. The meeting also discussed the definite possibilities of Belarus' access to the Baltic Sea through Poland. Not only Belarus, but also Polish business circles ready to invest in the implementation of this project have expressed interest in it. As Andrzej Arendarski, minister for foreign economic cooperation and head of the Polish delegation, stressed, they could immediately engage in this in 1993, as well as in the creation of mutual economic free zones which would mostly influence business relations in the future.

Details of Latest Sales on Stock Exchange

LD0601174093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1253 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By BELINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, January 6, TASS—Two deals to sell and purchase Russian non-cash roubles were concluded during the latest sales at the Belarusian stock-exchange. Eight million Russian roubles were sold for 1.17 Belarusian coupons each. 5,356,000 more roubles were sold at the rate of 1.2. The exchange rate has practically not changed as compared with the sales held one week ago, when the amount of sold roubles ran into scores of millions. In expert opinion, the present situation is linked with low demand and supply. This does not refer to cash money.

The Belarus National Bank has announced new exchange rates for foreign currencies on January 4. One U.S. dollar now costs 528 roubles in the republic. One German mark - 326.74 roubles. The Estonian krone was included in the table of exchange rates for the first time here. It costs 40.84 roubles.

Daily Publishes 1993 Economic Forecast

LD0601173993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1253 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By BELINFORM-TASS correspondent Mikhail Zhuravovich]

[Text] Minsk January 6 TASS—The economic forecast for 1993, published today by the independent newspaper "BELORUSSKIY PREDPRINIMATEL" (BELARUSIAN BUSINESSMAN), is far from reassuring. The republic's economy is confronted with the danger of unemployment. About 400-500 thousand people may lose their jobs. This "scourge" will primarily affect unskilled young workers and women. The paper believes this is a logical continuation of the republic's transition to a market economy, caused by structural changes, closure of inefficient and loss-making enterprises and difficulties linked with the switch-over of defence enterprises to the production of civilian goods.

The rates of inflation will slow down a bit, though remaining at a sufficiently high level - 500-600 per cent a year. The average earnings will grow by approximately the same margin. Therefore, the living standards of people holding jobs will not drop very abruptly.

No heightened business activity is expected in 1993. This is explained primarily by high taxes, necessary to provide social protection to the population, unsettled payments within the CIS, which threaten to become very dangerous. The gross national product will, at best, remain at the level of 1992, though a slight drop cannot be ruled out.

According to the forecast, inflation and economic recession will not allow the republic to stabilise its cash circulation. Prices for food products will rise more frequently than for manufactured goods. "Generally speaking," the newspaper says, "life will not become better in the republic, although some signs of stabilisation may be expected at the end of the year if, of course, the politicians do not start some new reshuffle."

Rationing of Specified Foodstuffs Detailed

LD0101071693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0600 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Text] Starting with the new year, ration cards are being introduced in Belarus for eight kinds of foodstuffs: sugar, flour, groats, butter, vegetable oil, macaroni products, vodka, and wine.

Government Adopts Resolution on Social Security, Pay

WS0501133993 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1236 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] Beginning 1 January 1993, the tariff rate of grade 1 will equal 3,600 rubles in Belarus. This is the number stated in the resolution "On the Measures for Social Security and Pay Regulation" adopted by the Council of Ministers today.

The document states that the amount of pay for workers of state institutions and organizations will be established according to the unified tariff scale of workers and employees of the national economy. Moreover, the tariff scale for specialists in health care, culture, science, and education will include additional factors.

Beginning 1 January, unemployment benefits and scholarships for citizens undergoing professional training and improving their qualifications at the instruction of the State Employment Service will increase one and a half times. Pensions, scholarships, and benefits will be reviewed proceeding from the 3,000 ruble minimal monthly pay.

Moldova

Dniester Republic Rejects Proposals on Status

LD0701093293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] An emergency sitting of the Supreme Soviet and the government of the Dniester Moldovan Republic has taken place in Tiraspol. It discussed a proposal submitted by the Moldovan leadership for the Trans-Dniester region to have the status of a self-governing territory. After heated debates, Moldova's proposal was rejected. The Supreme Soviet adopted the draft of a Moldavian confederation, in which the Dniester Moldovan Republic would have the status of an independent state.

Former Communist Party Leader Plans Party's Revival

LD0501173093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1432 GMT 5 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau January 5 TASS—Grigoriy Yeremey, former leader of the Communist Party of Moldova, announced his intention to come back to politics and revive the Communist Party in the republic banned after the August putsch. In an interview with the "RESPUBLIKA" Chisinau newspaper, he stressed that the putsch interrupted the course of working out a new programme of the Communist Party of Moldova which envisaged the current changes in the republic and its sovereignty.

According to Grigoriy Yeremey, over the past year he did not display his desire to come back to politics deliberately so as not to get in the way of other politicians and hoped that they would be able to preserve the peace and integrity of Moldova. However, as a result of ambitious aspirations and thoughtlessness of some politicians, a tragedy has struck the republic - quite innocent people were killed. Someone has to answer for this, the former leader of the Communist Party of Moldova emphasised.

Kazakhstan

Defense Minister Appeals to AWOL Servicemen, Draft Evaders

PM0701121593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 93 p 2

[Anatoliy Ladin report under "From Our News Bureau" rubric: "Kazakhstan Defense Minister Urged Deserters To Return to Service"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Colonel General Sagadat Nurmagambetov, Kazakhstan's defense minister, has appealed to servicemen who have gone AWOL from military units and also to draft evaders.

Acknowledging that the reluctance of individual citizens of Kazakhstan to serve in the army is connected to a certain extent with the negative phenomena inherited from the USSR's army, the defense minister gave an assurance in his appeal that thorough investigations are and will be conducted into any manifestations of nonregulation relations. The appeal voices the hope that youths who have left military units will return to them and worthily complete their service.

Republic Begins Minting Own Coins

OW0601220093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1904 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Beginning January 1, 1993, the industrial association, the Ulbinski metallurgical factory, (the city of Ulba, Eastern Kazakhstan) started to mint the Kazakh coins—ten'ge [as received]. According to the correspondent of the Kazakh daily newspaper "EXPRESS K", at present only one German machine-tool is working at the factory which has the output 750 coins a minute.

Compensation Introduced for Semipalatinsk Radiation Victims

LD0601215493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1335 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Vladimir Akimov for TASS]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 6 Jan—The law "On the social protection of citizens who have suffered from the consequences of nuclear tests at Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground" came into force in Kazakhstan today.

The document sets out the status of those Kazakhstanis who sustained damage from nuclear explosions. They are divided into several categories, depending on the length of time they spent living, working, or doing their military service on territories contaminated with radioactive substances. Children who have been identified as disabled or who are suffering from diseases related to their parents' stay in the affected areas constitute a separate category. They will be issued with certificates entitling them to certain privileges and compensations.

In addition, various privileges are introduced for those Kazakhstanis who have sustained damage from staying near the testing gronud. They will be able to retire at an earlier age, to receive supplementary payments in addition to their salaries, scholarships, pensions, and other allowances, and also to have longer leave.

As far as foreign citizens are concerned, they are covered by this enactment in accordance with international agreements.

Kyrgyzstan

Checkpoints Set Up Near Border With Tajikistan

LD0601195593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1220 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By KYRGYZKABAR correspondents Albert Bogdanov and Nikolay Pletnev]

[Text] Osh, 6 January (TASS)—Special entry and exit conditions have begun to operate in Osh Oblast. Checkpoints appeared today on all roads of the region; transport and passengers' belongings will be inspected and all visitors will be obliged to show their residence permits to the militia staff. This extreme measure has been brought about by the fact that there has recently been an increase in the number of refugees from neighboring Tajikistan, including suppliers of drugs and arms. Robbery, pillage, and theft have become more frequent.

Republic To Join Asian Bank of Reconstruction, Development

LD0701090993 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Text] Kyrgyzstan is getting ready to join the Asian Bank of Reconstruction and Development, the republic's Foreign Minister Ednan Karabayev has said in an interview. In his opinion Kyrgyzstan should seek the status of a developing country. As the minister recalled a number of countries had promised aid to Kyrgyzstan which would run into a total sum of $400 million. The minister reaffirmed his government's commitment to the secular way of development [as heard], to neutrality and noninterference in the affairs of other states.

Tajikistan

State of Emergency, Curfew Imposed in Dushanbe

LD0701131593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1213 GMT 7 Jan 93

[By KHOVAR correspondent Viktor Kozlov]

[Text] Dushanbe, 7 Jan—A state of emergency is being introduced in the capital of Tajikistan and adjoining

regions, as of 0000 local time on 8 January [1900 GMT 7 January] by decree of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

At the same time, a curfew is being introduced in Dushanbe from 2100 until 0600 local time. Minister of Internal Affairs Yakbudzhon Salimov, who is also responsible for ensuring the state of emergency regime in all the districts named in the decree, has been appointed the city's commandant.

Such resolute measures are being taken with a view to a speedy normalization of the situation, ensuring the safety of citizens, to seize weapons and illegal armed groups, and to prevent looting.

For the period that the decree is in force, the holding of meetings, street processions, demonstrations, picketing, sport and spectator events, and strikes are prohibited; and on the specified territories traffic and the entry and exit of transport is restricted and will be checked, the documents of citizens will be checked, and individuals and items will be checked.

[Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian at 1200 GMT on 7 January carries a similar report which adds the following: "The 201st Motorized Infantry Division has been charged with providing the necessary amount of armored vehicles and personnel to ensure the state of emergency and the curfew."]

State of Emergency Decree

LD0701145193 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Decree of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Presidium issued in Dushanbe]

[Text] To speedily stabilize the situation; to restore legality, law and order; to maintain citizens' security; to ensure the confiscation of weapons and military equipment held by illegal armed groups; to prevent incidents of plunder and other grave criminal acts; on the basis of Paragraph 14, Article 107 of the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan resolves:

1. A state of emergency will be declared from 0000 on 8 January 1993 on the territory of Dushanbe, the town and rayon of Tursunzada, the Shahr-i Nav, Gissar, Lenin, and Varzob rayons, and the town and rayon of Kafarnihon until the social and political situation in these regions returns to normal.

A curfew will be introduced in the city of Dushanbe from 2100 until 0600.

2. Tajikistan Interior Minister Salimov is appointed commandant of the city of Dushanbe. It also will be his responsibility to maintain the state of emergency in the town and rayon of Tursunzada, in the Shahr-i Nav, Gissar, Lenin, and Varzob rayons, and in the town and city of Kafarnihon.

Comrade (Grinov), first deputy interior minister of Tajikistan, has been appointed deputy commandant.

3. During the state of emergency in the above-mentioned towns and rayons, it is forbidden to hold rallies, marches, demonstrations, [words indistinct]; to start hunger strikes; or to stage sports events. Strikes are banned as well. The movement of traffic will be restricted, and vehicles will be searched. Citizens' documents will be inspected, and they will searched individually and physically.

4. People should be aware that the activities of political parties, social associations, and citizens' associations functioning on the territory of these towns and rayons will [words indistinct] if they damage the social and political situation.

5. The 201st Motorized Rifle Division should ensure that it has the armored equipment and [words indistinct] it needs to ensure that the state of emergency and curfew are effective.

6. The executive committees of the soviets of peoples deputies of the subject towns and rayons are dutybound to extend every assistance to Commandant Salimov to enable him to ensure the state of emergency.

7. The legal arrangements of the state of emergency in these towns and rayons will follow the current laws on a state of emergency.

8. The Tajikistan Council of Ministers should take the necessary measures to explain this decree and the laws on a state of emergency to the inhabitants of the relevant towns and rayons.

9. The Tajikistan Foreign Ministry is assigned the duty of informing the heads of states of the CIS and the UN secretary general about the introduction of a state of emergency in the subject towns and rayons.

10. This decree is to be submitted to the Tajik Supreme Soviet for its approval.

[Signed] Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman

Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan

Dushanbe

(?6) January 1993

Dushanbe Ready To Sign Accords With Uzbekistan, Others

OW0701135193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1312 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The government of Tajikistan has prepared documents to conclude trade-economic agreements with several CIS countries (Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Moldova). According to the governmental press service,

during his telephone talks with the heads of these countries' governments on Wednesday [6 January] evening, Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov agreed to sign these documents in January.

The parties also reached a preliminary agreement to render humanitarian aid to Tajikistan from Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Moldova.

The same day a governmental program, which envisages the end of assistance to the refugees who suffered as a result of the inter-ethnic conflict in Tajikistan, was adopted at the session conducted by the Premier in Dushanbe.

Government Controlling Large Part of Territory

OW0601145093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1423 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The government of Tajikistan controls a larger part of the republic, the Tajik National Security Committee's spokesman told Interfax. He said that the Leninabad and Khatlon Regions had taken the side of the new government on the day it was formed at the end of November 1992. At the end of December, the leaders of Gorny Badakhshan, an autonomous entity in Tajikistan, also announced their support of the government.

The mountainous zone in the central part of Tajikistan remains out of control, he said. According to the National Security Department, in the Garm, Dzhirgatal and Komsomolabad regions, armed opposition units are concentrated in densely populated villages. They use the local civilians as a live shield. The government forces have not yet made a decision to drive these units out of the villages, fearing enormous human losses among civilians, he said.

Confiscation of Illegal Weapons Begins in Pamirs

OW0701135493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1312 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The confiscation of illegally kept weapons has begun in Gorny Badakhshan (the Pamirs), one of the most dangerous regions in Tajikistan. Chairman of Tajikistan's National Security Committee Colonel Saidamir Zukhurov told Interfax that the local authorities have confiscated more than 120 automatic rifles from the Pamir militants.

Until recently, the Tajik government's calls for surrendering everything that had been stolen or obtained illegally had been ignored.

Gorny Badakhshan will not be able to confiscate all of the illegally kept weapons without the central authorities' assistance, said Colonel Zukhurov.

Leaders Hold Talks on Disarming Militants

OW0601134093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1202 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [6 January] representatives of the Tajik parliament, government and law-enforcement bodies continued talks on the surrender of weapons with the armed opposition groups and with the units of the pro-government Popular Front. The talks are held in the city of Yavan.

Chairman of Tajikistan's National Security Committee, Colonel Saidamir Zukhurov, told Interfax in an exclusive interview that the delegation intends to visit a number of populated areas in this region.

Although the three earlier attempts to begin such talks were unsuccessful, new prospects for attaining mutual agreement are much more favorable, said Zukhurov. In his opinion, the militants of a number of opposition groups are ready to lay down arms.

He also noted that the units of the pro-government Popular Front of Tajikistan have begun to lay down arms, although not too many weapons have been surrendered so far. Following the arrival of the first units of the National Security Committee's brigade in this region, the leaders of the Popular Front's local headquarters "announced their plans to stop guarding this territory." Zukhurov stressed that during the talks the delegation will give special emphasis to the problem of refugees. According to the committee's sources, the refugees have left their camps within the direct vicinity of the Afghan border in the Pyandzh Region. Practically all of the more than 100,000 people, who stayed beyond the line of border facilities, have left the place. According to individual sources, some of them moved to Afghanistan.

Colonel Zukhurov said that the greatest number of refugees (about 20,000) have concentrated in the natural preserve Tigrovaya Balka, several kilometers off the border.

Slow Progress Made in Surrendering Weapons

LD0601194893 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Report by correspondent Alisher Khodzhayev—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] As is known, the deadline for the voluntary surrender of weapons in Tajikistan expired on 4 January. This morning its depressing results were made public. According to an updated Interior Ministry report, only 1,200 of more than 30,000 firearms illegally held by the population have been surrendered or confiscated. This is 4 percent of the deadly objects.

To tell the truth, the law enforcement bodies are not wasting their time. They have managed to expose several

caches with weapons and explosives. Dozens of rocket missiles for an Alazan unit, anti-tank guided missiles, grenade launchers, and tens of thousands of cartridges have been made harmless.

Members of a special commission for disarming are explaining the situation at enterprises in mahalla [similar to rayon] and village soviets. The existence of weapons is directly affecting the crime situation. The number of robberies, lootings, and killings is not getting smaller. The exposure rate of crimes is low. As of today special measures, including raids, will be used against those who did not surrender weapons before the deadline.

Four Refugees Die Returning From Afghanistan

OW0701123093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1123 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Four people died and 14 were wounded in a sudden explosion, as refugees were returning from Afghanistan to Tajikistan. Russian border guards report that the tragedy occurred on an island in the middle of the Puyandzh River near the village of Ishkashim. For unknown reasons and contrary to a preliminary agreement, the refugees tried to circumvent the main checkpoint.

The refugees claim that the Afghan authorities sent them there, warning that border guards would otherwise open fire at them. No fire was opened.

A total of 33 people crossed the river. They say some 5,000 refugees remain in Afghanistan.

Anniversary of Ties with PRC Marked

LD0601173493 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] PRC Ambassador to Tajikistan Xi Zhaoming held an official reception in Dushanbe on 6 January to mark the seventh anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Tajikistan and the PRC.

Present at the reception were Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan; Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Samadov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Nimatulloyev, president of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan; Olimov, minister of foreign affairs; Ikromov, chairman of the executive committee of the city of Dushanbe; high-ranking officials of some ministries and departments of the republic, and representatives of the media. On the Chinese side officials of the PRC Embassy in the Republic of Tajikistan, business representatives, and Professor [words indistinct] were present.

Imamali Rakhmanov spoke at the reception. He warmly congratulated the Chinese diplomats on the anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Tajikistan and China. Imamali Rakhmanov also stressed that during the fratricidal war, officials of the PRC Embassy did not leave their places and continued to fulfill their duties. He said: We are grateful to them for not leaving us alone at a difficult moment and for doing much to contribute to maintaining calm in the country. On behalf of the Tajik people, the Supreme Soviet chairman extended his congratulations to the Chinese brothers on the historic and auspicious anniversary of relations between the two countries.

Xi Zhaoming, PRC ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Tajikistan, expressed in his speech his hopes that the friendly and good-neighborly relations between the PRC and Tajikistan will be further strengthened and developed for the benefit of the peoples of both countries.

Government Faces Task of Rebuilding Facilities, Economy

LD0701061493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0432 GMT 7 Jan 92

[By TIA KHOVAR correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe, 7 Jan—Tajikistan intends to direct 90 percent of this year's state resources toward restoring the national economy and constructing housing and other facilities in Khatlon Oblast, which has suffered from the civil war which has raged there for many months. This was revealed by Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov, chairman of the republic's council of ministers.

In the Vakhsh valley, which is part of this oblast, the major industrial enterprises have been ruined and automobile transport plundered and destroyed. Serious damage has been inflicted on health service institutions. The total area of destroyed houses comes to over 400,000 square meters. On the whole, the economic damage inflicted in the Republic from the fracticidal war amounts to over 90 billion rubles. A report published by the government admits that Tajikistan is not able to cope with the task of restoring the national economy and is counting on help from its partners in the CIS and other states as well as aid from international organizations.

Turkmenistan

Niyazov Receives Iran's Interior Minister

LD0601122793 Tehran IRNA in English 1029 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 6, IRNA—Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov said in Ashkhabad Tuesday [5 January] that he will employ all possible means to expand and consolidate ties with the Islamic republic.

Niyazov made the remark in a meeting with Iran's Interior Minister 'Abdollah Nuri who is currently on an official visit to Ashkhabad.

Nuri conveyed the oral message of president Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani to his Turkmen counterpart.

The Turkmen president underlined the significance of railroad link between Iran and Turkmenia and transit of Turkmen gas pipelines to Europe through the Iranian territory. He added that Tehran-Ashkhabad trade ties are progressing well. "We see no obstacles on the way of expansion of our relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran," he underlined.

Niyazov extended an invitation to President Rafsanjani to visit Turkmenia and expressed hope that the Caspian Sea littoral states summit would be held in Ashkhabad soon.

Nuri stressed the need for exchange of information and experience between the two countries adding that a good prospect could be foreseen for increasing bilateral cooperation between the two Muslim and neighboring countries.

Armenia

President Calls For Negotiations on Nagorno-Karabakh

LD0701114093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1001 GMT 7 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 7 Jan—"The Karabakh conflict can and must be resolved not by military, but by peaceful means; not on the battle field, but at the negotiating table," Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan said in Yerevan today.

He termed the armed confrontation, based on arithmetical calculations and false illusions of achieving unilateral superiority, as "criminal and without prospects." Levon Ter-Petrosyan noted that the joint declaration by the Russian and U.S. Presidents on the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh was interpreted in Armenia as a manifestation not only of deep concern, but also of the realistic assessment of the role and responsibility of these countries in helping to increase the effectiveness of the process of a political resolution of the Karabakh conflict within the framework of the peace initiatives of the CSCE.

The president stressed that through its actions, Armenia had demonstrated repeatedly its adherence to political methods of solving problems and its readiness to reach agreements on the basis of mutually acceptable suggestions that take into account the interests of all sides. The republic, the president went on, is confirming its course in refraining from the use of force and in the search for compromises that meet the supreme interests of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples and the interests of security and cooperation in the region, Europe, and the world. The statement gives a high assessment of the readiness of the Russian Federation and the United States through joint efforts to continue helping in the search for solutions, first and foremost within the CSCE framework. At the same time, the Armenian leadership has called on the leadership of Azerbaijan "to cast off its hesitations and doubts and to resume without delay the bilateral and multilateral consultations and negotiations with all the conflicting and involved sides on an immediate cease-fire in Nagorno-Karabakh and in the border rayons as a first step in the peaceful settlement of the conflict."

Defense Ministry Denies Minister Threatened Azerbaijan

NC0701143293 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Armen Dulyan, head of the Armenian Defense Ministry's Press Service, told a SNARK correspondent today that Armenian Defense Minister Vazgen Manukyan has not issued a threat or ultimatum to Azerbaijan.

As is known, the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry has criticized Manukyan for allegedly having said he was in favor of pursuing a policy of military pressure against Azerbaijan in a statement at the Armenian Supreme Soviet session on 3 January.

Dulyan said that Manukyan made no statement at the parliament on 3 January for the simple reason that the Armenian people's deputies have been on vacation for the last two weeks.

Dulyan highlighted the fact that Armenia has always favored [words indistinct], immediate cessation of fire, and peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Fighting in Karabakh, Calm on Borders

NC0601174393 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The situation has become markedly aggravated in Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, particularly in Martuninskiy Rayon and along the Lachin humanitarian corridor.

Fierce battles continued throughout the day yesterday [5 Jan] around Gevorgavan and Yenokavan in Martuninskiy Rayon [words indistinct]. Supported by more than 20 armored cars, Azerbaijani Army units have been attacking positions of the self-defense forces for the last three days. There are dead and injured among the Armenian freedom fighters. The casualty figures are being determined. Despite incomparably heavier losses, the enemy is continuing its offensive. In spite of all the pressure applied by Azerbaijani Army units, the Armenian self-defense detachments are maintaining their own positions. The battles are continuing.

Azerbaijani military formations stepped up their operations in the Lachin humanitarian corridor last night. Positional battles are continuing in the northern sector of the corridor. Despite the enemy's unceasing shelling, the Lachin humanitarian corridor is under Armenian control. The transportation of humanitarian cargo and passengers is continuing unimpeded.

The Armenian Defense Ministry Press Service reported that the border regions of Armenia were relatively calm last night.

Shelling Reportedly Destroys Homes

OW0701113393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1123 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Armenian Defense Ministry, 50 homes were destroyed by fire from Azeri Grad installations, howitzers and tanks on Wednesday [6 January] night in the Taush Region, Armenia. The number of losses is being verified. Shelling continued on Thursday morning.

Well-informed sources in Yerevan say the self-defense force of Nagorno-Karabakh steadily controls the Lachin corridor connecting Karabakh with Armenia.

The Azeri Defense Ministry reports that last night Armenian forces opened rocket and artillery fire at the border town of Agdam, causing destruction.

The two ministries say that Azeri forces stopped an Armenian offensive on the north-west of the border and in the direction of Fizuli. One tank was shot.

Azerbaijan

Foreign Minister Views U.S., Russian Comments on Conflict

NC0601165493 Baku TURAN in English 1216 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Baku, 6 Jan (TURAN)—The Azeri Minister of Foreign Affairs Tofik Gasymov commented the announcement of the presidents of the USA and Russia on the necessity of the peaceful regulation of the Karabakh conflict, said to the correspondent of TURAN, that "it does not differ in any way from the recent announcements."

"Common words and appeals again sound here, but ways of the regulation of the conflict and the mechanism of its realization are not pointed."

Tofik Gasymov has said also that "if the leaders of Russia, the USA and Turkey do not create joint programme and the constructive suggestions on the regulation of the problem, Azerbaijani side will not go to the peaceful negotiations with Armenian any more."

The minister considers that Armenia does not want to refuse the policy of the annexation of the land of the Azeri territory.

"The peaceful regulation is possible only if Russia, the USA and Turkey come out in favour as guarantees of the peaceful agreement and pledge themselves to take strict measures against its infringer," has remarked Gasymov.

Defense Ministry Criticizes Armenian Statement

LD0601162893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1510 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By AZERTAC-TASS correspondent Elchin Sardarov]

[Text] Baku, 6 Jan—Today's statement by the leadership of the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry calls Armenian Defense Minister Vazgen Manukyan's statement in the republican parliament alleging that Azerbaijan has refused to go for talks and that it is necessary to force the Azerbaijani side to enter such talks, a continuation of the policy of force by the Armenian Government. The statement by the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry says that "the path toward peace talks is through the preparation of political agreements and solutions and not through attempts to force the other side to accept crushing terms and not through the annexation of somebody else's lands, extermination of the civilian population, and throwing people out of their homes." The Azerbaijani state, the document adds, is not waging a war against civilians in Karabakh—it is waging a war of liberation, to clear Armenia's armed units from its territory. The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry has, on the basis of the CSCE and UN principles that recognize Azerbaijan's real borders, demanded from the Armenian leadership that it withdraw its armed forces from Azerbaijan territory forthwith.

Moves Seen as Politically Motivated

OW0701084793 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Interview with Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov by Tofik Abbasov at the National Assembly Hall; date not given; from the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] [Abbasov] It seems that in spite of an extremely difficult economic situation and an inevitable fiasco awaiting it in war, Armenia still wants to save the situation somehow, and in a characteristic way. Manukyan, the republic's minister of defense, was careless enough several days ago to express the following thought: We will force Azerbaijan to agree to a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Thus, it is the military who assume responsibility for guaranteeing peace, after seemingly securing a political mandate to prepare conditions for the desired and advantageous impasse. Or maybe the Armenian way towards peace requires military success, which will encourage the leadership and give it a strong bargaining position. Thus, the leaders of our neighboring country dream about a face saving outcome. Therefore, one is not surprised at the massive enemy strikes at several border points. There is no need go into what the conclusion of the Azerbaijani military should be. Nevertheless, diplomats should not hang up their boots just yet. Tofik Gasymov, Azerbaijan's minister of foreign affairs, gave an interview to our program.

[Begin Gasymov recording] This was our last offer: We, the five states, and maybe also the chairman or the deputy chairman of the CSCE must gather together and sign some kind of preliminary agreement to the effect that the three states—the Unites States, Turkey, and Russia—would be declared guarantors of the peace process, and Azerbaijan and Armenia would coordinate with them the sanctions to be used if the agreement is broken by one of the sides. [end recording]

Armenian Attack on Northern Lachinskiy Region Fails

NC0601164693 Baku TURAN in English 1216 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Baku, 6 Jan (TURAN)—The attempt of the Armenian sub-units to launch an attack on the north of the region of Lachinskiy has suffered a defeat. The Azeri minister of defence has informed that the enemy's sub-units tried to capture the villages of Akhnazar and

Tazakend in the region of Lachinskiy on January 5-6, have fallen back leaving about 60 died soldiers on the field of fight.

The next Armenian attack on the northern-west frontiers of Azerbaijan was stopped too. Here the enemy has lost about 30 died. The Ministry of Defence informs that the soldiers in chains of the Armenian infantry were tied up among themselves, probably, in order not to allow their retreat.

The command of the Azeri army expects the recent attacks of the Armenian army in Karabakh and along the Azerbaijani frontiers with the recent announcement of the Armenian Minister of Defence Vazgen Manukyan, who declared about the necessity to give a good lesson Azerbaijan and to make it accept the Armenian conditions.

Update on Fighting in Tauzskiy, Fizulinskiy Rayons

NC0601193293 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry's Analytical Information Center issued the following communique today:

The Azerbaijani Armed Forces in Tauzskiy Rayon continue to control the heights they recently captured. Residential areas in Tauzskiy, Kazakhskiy, and Akstafa Rayons were systematically fired on from these heights until recently. The capture of the heights has created an opportunity for our military units to control the only road in Armenia used for transferring combat equipment to Azerbaijani territory.

[Word indistinct] Faik Alaskerov, First Lieutenant Mikhman Veliyev, and [title and name indistinct] displayed an exemplary effort in clashes that took place for the heights. Regardless of how regrettable it may be, six of our fighters—Private Zabit Kamil oglu Nuriyev, Private Asker Ismail oglu Ismailov, [title and name indistinct], Private (Berkhudar) Bekir oglu Mirzaliyev, Private Mamed Zakhid oglu Mamedov, and Private Mukhammed Vakhid oglu Omerov—died heroically in the clashes. We convey our deep condolences to the wives and families of our martyrs. [passage indistinct] God bless the souls of our martyrs.

Azerbaijani units in Fizulinskiy Rayon completely liberated [place name indistinct] in that rayon from Armenian occupation at about 1000 today. Veysalli and the (Kyzyl Kaya) Heights were liberated from enemy occupation some time ago.

Enemy units tried to violate our border near Chully Kyshlakh in Zangelanskiy Rayon this morning but were forced to retreat by our troops. They left 12 bodies in the battlefields. Nearly 40 Armenian troops were hurt in combat operations that took place during the day. Our positions in Kokhne Kyslakh in Kazakhskiy Rayon and [place name indistinct] in Zangelanskiy Rayon were fired on in the afternoon.

Elchibey Views Rights of Compatriots in Georgia

OW0601215193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1748 GMT 6 Jan 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin and edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [6 January] at a meeting with A. Elchibey, representatives of the Azeri intelligentsia who are natives of Georgia cited specific examples of violations of their civic rights and linguistic and cultural discrimination. They were especially disturbed by instances where the names of geographical areas populated by Azeris in Bolnis and Dmanisi regions of Georgia had been altered.

The president announced that measures were being taken at government level on the protection of rights and interests of compatriots in the neighbouring republic. He said that contact between the governments, parliaments and public organisations between the two states had recently been stepped up in order to try to find a solution to the problem in hand. Elchibey stressed that the observance of the rights of Azeris in Georgia was one of the main factors on which the development of relations between Tbilisi and Baku depended.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: Azerbaijan has said that around half a million Azeris live in Georgia (11-12% of the population of Georgia).

Baku Welcomes Establishment of Central Asian Community

OW0701141093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1312 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azeri Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov stated that the Foreign Ministry of Azerbaijan welcomes the results of the Tashkent meeting between the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkmen and Tajik presidents, as well as the idea of establishing a Central Asian community.

He told Interfax on Thursday that the establishment of such a community meets the long-term interests of Azerbaijan and of the Asian region as a whole.

Speaking about prospects for Azerbaijan's cooperation with the Central Asian community, he noted that Azerbaijan will give priority to bilateral contacts with its eastern neighbors.

State Oil Company Signs Contract With Iran

LD0601172793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0525 GMT 6 Jan 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Azerbaijan and Iran have concluded a contract between the two countries' state oil companies. Sabit Bagirov, president of the Azerbaijan oil company Azerneft, told INTERFAX that according to the contract Azerbaijan will supply Iran with 100,000 tons of diesel fuel annually for eight years in exchange for 250 million cubic meters of natural gas per year. All mutual settlements will be carried out on the basis of international prices.

Official Says Introduction of Manat Would Worsen Economy

LD0601182393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1513 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Natan Barskiy for TASS]

[Text] Baku 6 January TASS—Azerbaijan is not ready to have its own currency, the introduction of which would worsen the republic's economy, according to Tofik Azizov, chairman of the parliamentary Commission for Economic Policy.

He told the Baku-based newspaper "ZERKALO" on Wednesday people were told to believe that if the republic has 5 tonnes of gold this will provide for convertibility of manat, yet 5 thousand tonnes of gold may not provide stability for a national currency because it will not supply goods. This year only 13 kopecks worth of goods are being produced for every rouble, whereas 15 years ago this figure was almost double.

According to Azizov the first 3 to 4 months this year will be the most difficult economically, when as he said, "it will be hard to feed the people."

Azerbaijan which has a developed industry was able to allocate money last year to the investment of industry with the aim of slowing down the drop in production by 2.4 per cent of the republic's budget. This is ten times less than the minimum required. The significant fall in production last year is not accidental. 40 per cent of goods were produced compared to 1990.

500 Billion Rubles Need To Rehabilitate Economy

OW0701140993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1312 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the estimate of the Azeri parliament's commission for budget policies, Azerbaijan will need at least 500 billion rubles to restore the cities and villages in the zone of combat operations in Nagorno-Karabakh. This commission believes that this sum should be included in the state budget.

The Azeri parliament's press service announced that on January 6, the parliament discussed the restoration of Karabakh's regional center of Shusha, which will cost about 50 billion rubles.

Industrial Output Falls 60 Percent Over 2 Years

LD0601152893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Over the past two years the level of industrial output in Azerbaijan has fallen by 60 percent. This became known today from an interview with Tofik Azizov, chairman of the republic's parliamentary commission on economic policy.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Said To Suffer Heart Attack

NC0601171793 Paris AFP in English 1658 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Tbilisi, Jan 6 (AFP) - President Eduard Shevardnadze had a heart attack in his office in the Georgian parliament Wednesday, his doctors told AFP. The attack was due to diabetes, they said, adding that doctors were looking after him in his office.

Shevardnadze, 65, was not hospitalized.

Shevardnadze Hosts Conference on Delegation Visit to Iran

OW0601181193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1744 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday Eduard Shevardnadze, the Georgian leader, conducted an expanded conference with the leaders of several ministries and departments concerning the official visit of the Georgian delegation to Iran. The press center of the Georgian Foreign Ministry reported to INTERFAX that the visit is expected to take place on January 19. The Georgian delegation headed by Shevardnadze is supposed to conclude a treaty on friendship and good neighborhood between Iran and Georgia.

During the conference the officials discussed the issues to be considered at the negotiations in Tehran, including the deliveries of the Iranian natural gas to Georgia this year and the construction of a section of a railway in a difficult of access region in the north of Iran by Georgian specialists.

According to the press center of the Georgian Foreign Ministry, the government of Iran will be proposed to participate in the construction of the motor-way from Iran to Poti, a Georgian port on the Black Sea.

Defense Council Adopts Resolution on Border Guards

OW0601190293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1744 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [5 January] the Georgian Council of National Security and Defense adopted a resolution on

the guarding of the borders and on the creation of the frontier forces. 10 thousand people are supposed to serve in the frontier forces. The manning of the frontier forces will be implemented on the contract basis and as a call up for the active service. This information was reported by General Panteleimon Georgadze, the commander of the Georgian frontier forces, in his interview with INTERFAX.

The General said that the training center for frontier officers and sergeants situated near Tbilisi has prepared 100 specialists. They were sent to the posts on the border with Armenia and Azerbaijan. According to Georgadze, at this moment the Russian frontier guards are guarding the Georgian-Turkish border.

The General declared that Georgia shows interest to man the republic's frontier forces with the Russian frontier officers. At the same time he accused the Russian frontier guards of selling repair shops, automobile bases, depots, houses, and dog nurseries to the cooperatives. According to Georgadze, the Russian frontier guards promised to help to form the Georgian frontier service only if Russia and Georgia sign a widescale agreement defining the status of the Russian frontier guards in Georgia.

Abkhaz Deputy Says War Without 'Future'

LD0601140493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1307 GMT 6 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan (TASS)—There is no future for the war in Abkhazia, "it is dictated by internal events, a power struggle, and the regime installed in Georgia," said Zurab Achba, a deputy to the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet, at a news conference in Moscow.

Other deputies in the Abkhaz parliament have called the attack on Sukhumi by Abkhaz armed formations "unplanned and spontaneous."

According to their information, small armed Abkhaz groups, having forced a crossing of the River Gumista, seized the railroad terminus, the hospital, and a number of other installations in Sukhumi on Tuesday [5 January]. However, within a few hours, after heavy and prolonged fighting entailing the loss of human life they were forced to retreat to their former positions. In the deputies' view more careful and serious military preparation is needed for such operations to be carried out.

Answering a question from the ITAR-TASS correspondent about the particular features of the "winter campaign" along the line of Georgian-Abkhaz confrontation, Abkhaz Supreme Soviet deputy Zurab Achba said: "The snow, which is particularly plentiful in the foothills, is now making the supply of weapons and ammunition to our forces in Ochamchirskiy Rayon difficult." According to him, up to 60 armored vehicles, including eight heavy tanks, were captured by the Abkhaz side during the combat operations.

Abkhaz Ministry Concedes Sukhumi Offensive 'Failure'

OW0601144393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1422 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Abkhazia's Defence Ministry has actually conceded that the offensive in the direction of Sukhumi launched by Abkhazian units on Tuesday [5 January] was a failure. Its report covering the past 24 hours says that fighting developed in the north-western suburb of Sukhumi when Abkhazian units had crossed the River Gumista. Intensive exchanges of fire went on for several hours. "After a long and fierce battle the counter-offensive of Abkhazia's armed forces was stopped, and Abkhazian units retreated to their previous positions," said the Defence Ministry in its report.

In Tuesday's fighting the Abkhazian units sustained casualties. According to their command, the Georgian forces suffered about 150 casualties and fatalities; they lost a tank, 2 rocket installations and 3 gun teams.

Wednesday morning exchanges of artillery fire began on the front line outside Sukhumi, said Abkhazia's Defence Ministry in its report.

Artillery Fire Resumes Along Entire Abkhaz Front

LD0601152793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 6 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] At 0700 this morning, exchanges of artillery fire began along the entire length of the Georgian-Abkhaz front, according to the Abkhaz defense ministry. [passage omitted]

Here is another report from that region that we have just received. The Georgian information agency has reported that the night passed relatively quietly in Abkhazia, but in the morning Abkhaz artillery again began shelling Sukhumi. According to the Abkhaz defense ministry, the Georgian side lost one tank, two Grad launchers, and about 150 were killed or wounded in yesterday's fighting. The Abkhaz side has not reported its own losses.

Abkhaz Parliament Views Introduction of Peacekeepers

OW0601200093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1902 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press service of the Abkhazian parliament declared that the introduction of the peace-keeping forces to the republic can be implemented only after a complete withdrawal of the Georgian formations from its territory.

The statement of the press service in response to the address of the Georgian leader, Eduard Shevardnadze, to the U.N. asking to introduce the peace-keeping forces to Abkhazia underlines that the introduction of the Georgian forces was the cause of the war in Abkhazia and "the genocide of its people."

Defense Ministry Reviews 6 Jan Abkhaz Battles

OW0701113993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1123 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian Defense Ministry reports that six people, among them one woman, died as a result of intensive shelling of residential areas of Sukhumi by the Abkhaz side on Wednesday night. Two houses caught fire from incendiary bombs dropped from a motorized handglider.

The ministry says that also on Wednesday, the Georgian side repelled an Abkhaz landing attempt from the sea. A landing boat carrying 40 or 50 men was damaged by artillery fire and retreated.

Last night Georgian artillery prevented Abkhaz units' attempt to attack the community of Nizhnyaya Eshera. No shooting was registered in the Ochamchir Region on Wednesday.

According to the Abkhaz Defense Ministry, during the past 24 hours the Georgian artillery continued intensive shelling of Novy Afon, Gvanda and Eshera, causing destruction. The number of losses is being verified.

Abkhaz Forces Shoot Down Russian Su-25 Aircraft 6 Jan

LD0701114693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1106 GMT 7 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS string correspondent Tengiz Pachkoriya]

[Text] Sukhumi January 7 TASS—Abkhazian formations again stepped up combat actions in the area of Gumista river on Wednesday night. An Abkhazian motorboat appeared off the coast in the area of Nizhniye Eshery village and tried to land a party of fighters there. The motorboat came under artillery fire and sank, according to the existing data.

Practically at the same time, a bomb was dropped on a five-storey building from a hang-glider that appeared in the area of Sukhumi airport. There was no loss of life but several apartments were destroyed.

Around midnight, Abkhazian formations opened artillery fire on Georgian positions as well as on Sukhumi. Several shells exploded in the downtown area. According to the Abkhazian Ministry of Health, one woman was killed and seven people were brought to hospital with wounds. Georgian troops returned the fire.

According to the headquarters of the Georgian Military Command in Sukhumi, "Abkhazian gunners shot down a SU-25 aircraft of the Russian Armed Forces over Nizhny Eshery village at 20.30 on Wednesday". The plane fell into the sea and there was no information about the fate of the pilot.

XXX

Moscow January 7 TASS—By ITAR-TASS—On January 6, there were no flights of aircraft of the group of the Russian troops in the Transcaucasus, a spokesman at the press service of the Defence Ministry of the Russian Federation told ITAR-TASS.

Latvia

Foreign Minister Surveys Ministry's Performance

WS0601132493 Tallinn BNS in English 1850 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Text] Riga, Jan 05, BNS—In what was the first time in the history of the parliamentary faction Satversme when a minister's speech drew applause from the deputies, the Latvian Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs on Monday [4 January] gave a brief survey on his ministry's performance since his appointment to the post last November.

In his speech he emphasized that "the Baltic countries are under heavy pressure from the West" and said the western countries were eager "to complete what our big neighbour started in the 50-ies and 60-ies."

"Sometimes we have to ask—where were you after the second world war, leaving us to the mercy of fate?" said Andrejevs.

Speaking about the recent meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Brussels, Andrejevs pointed out that "at the Brussels conference the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister for the first time publicly announced that the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states would not be linked to the human rights and ethnic minority issues."

Commenting on relations with China following Latvia's recognition of Taiwan, the Foreign Minister said "the general view is that Latvia has made a mistake by infuriating the big China therefore we should not count on China's support at large international forums."

Lithuania

Lubys on Forthcoming Talks With Poland's Suchocka

LD0701123293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Lithuanian Prime Minister Bronislovas Lubys has been invited to pay a one-day working visit to the Republic of Poland today. The meeting and the discussions with Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka will take place in the small town of Wigry, not far from Sejny, in an artists' rest home which has been set up in a monastery on a peninsula in Lake Wigry.

Prime Minister Bronislovas Lubys told ELTA correspondent Jonas Bogdanskis: I regard Mrs. Hanna Suchocka's proposal to hold a working meeting as a positive step, which could help normalize the relations between our countries. I cannot tell what agreements will be reached. However, there are enough problems in which both sides are interested and which have to be discussed.

For example, there is no agreement on free trade, and this is not a normal situation. Nor do we have other agreements of the kind that are needed for the development of economic relations. For example, we are travelling to Poland without visas; we also do not have an agreement on free passage to that country.

We are interested in regulating trade customs duties and customs houses, in opening new rail communication routes and other means of communication, and in setting up international communications links.

I do not doubt that opinions will be exchanged on normalizing mutual relations and on the wider political context in front of us. We will try to coordinate our points of view on the principles which will form the basis of an interstate treaty. We must define friendly and [word indistinct] relations for cooperation with Poland in all spheres and coordinate our actions, in order that both countries can integrate into the European Community.

I think the Wigry meeting, which will also be attended by officials and experts from (?other) countries, will do something for the benefit of good-neighborly relations.

A group of experts is also leaving for Wigry with the prime minister.

Landsbergis Denies 'Insufficient Initiative' With Belarus

WS0601130493 Tallinn BNS in English 1252 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 05, BNS—Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of parliamentary opposition, denied accusations of insufficient initiative in relations with Belarus. Diplomatic relations between Lithuania and Belarus were established only on December 31, 1992.

Landsbergis said that acting Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas' statements about insufficient initiative of the Lithuanian side to establish diplomatic relations are not true.

According to Landsbergis, he met Belarusian parliamentary leader Stanislav Shushkevich at least four times and always raised the question about the "absurd state" of diplomatic relations between the two neighboring countries. Former chairman of the Lithuanian parliament once again said that the main reason was "strange unwillingness of the Belarusian Foreign Affairs Ministry" to regulate the situation by creating such barriers as the question of Belarusian sanatoriums in Lithuania.

Landsbergis blamed the improper work of certain Lithuanian officials and "certain demands" of Belarusian officials for dragging out this "purely technical and juridical" question.

Poll Shows Most Vilnius Residents To Vote for Brazauskas

OW0601173493 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1712 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] 51% of residents in Vilnius surveyed by the Baltic Opinion Poll Center on January 2-3 maintain they want the Lithuanian acting president, Algirdas Brazauskas, to be elected president of the Republic.

According to the results of this survey, which was conducted before the registration of candidates was completed and Vytautas Landsbergis was still regarded by many as a potential contender to the presidential office, 10% of the respondents said they would cast their ballots for the opposition leader in the Sejm. 17% said they would vote for Lithuanian Ambassador in the U.S. Stasys Lozoraitis, and 2% for Prof. Kaziemeras Antanavicius, Sejm member, who self-appointed himself from the Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party.

The survey confirms that the residents in Vilnius are going to actively participate in the elections: 84% say they will come to the polling stations, with 6% refusing to vote, and 10% still undecided.

According to the "LIETUVOS RYTAS" daily paper, Mr. Lozoraitis will be supported by the rightist-oriented electors, as well as by 12 of the centrist parties and organizations.

Legislature Adopts Amendment to Presidential Elections Law

WS0601131893 Tallinn BNS in English 2116 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 05, BNS—A citizen of the Republic of Lithuania who spent part of his life in political exile, was imprisoned for political convictions or was on diplomatic service, but not later than March 11, 1990, may be elected the President of the Republic of Lithuania.

Such is the amendment to the Law on Presidential Elections adopted by the Lithuanian parliament Tuesday.

The amendment was suggested by the Commission for the Presidential Elections to define more precisely a person who may become president of Lithuania.

International Economic Relations Ministry Abolished

WS0601132293 Tallinn BNS in English 2118 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 05, BNS—The Lithuanian Seimas Tuesday adopted the Law on Abolishment of the International Economic Relations Ministry.

The functions and the staff of the former Ministry will be distributed among three ministries—Foreign Affairs, Economy, Industry and Trade.

The Ministry of International Economic Relations was formed at the beginning of 1991, by Gediminas Vagnorius' government. The Ministry was headed by economist Vytenis Aleskaitis, whose efforts stimulated aid to Lithuania from the West. Lithuania was accepted to the IMF and other financial organizations. The former Ministry signed a line of agreements with western countries on free trade and investment guarantees.

Government Pays Portion of Debt for Russian Oil

WS0601130893 Tallinn BNS in English 1251 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 05, BNS—The Lithuanian government gave 1 billion LPM (Lithuanian Provisional Money) to the Ministry of Energy to cover part of the debt for Russian oil. Lithuania owes 1.6 billion roubles to Russian oil companies for the third quarter of last year.

The remaining part of the debt will be covered by the Mazeikiai oil refinery, which received loans from Lithuanian commercial banks.

Vice Minister of Energy Robertas Tamosiunas told BNS reporter that the Mazeikiai oil refinery will be able to hold more successful negotiations on oil supplies in 1993 after the debt is paid back.

The oil refinery currently has one contract for supply of oil in 1993. Lucoil-Trading Company will supply 500,000 tons of oil for hard currency.

Debt Reaches 8.5 Billion Rubles

OW0701150693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1125 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania's debt to the Russian Lentransgaz corporation for supplies of natural gas has reached 8.5 billion rubles, which is 5 billion more than at the beginning of last November. Lithuania is determined to pay back the bulk of the debt by this or next week at the latest. The Energy Ministry has been notified that the Swedish government has transferred 10 million kronas (the equivalent of $1.5 million) to the Bank of Lithuania for that purpose.

According to Energy Vice-Minister Robertas Tamosiunas, Russian suppliers are understanding and ship the gas "almost normally." Lithuania gets an average of 12 million cubic meters of gas daily, which meets 75-80% of its needs. Last week Lithuania paid back the 1.6 billion rubles it owed for oil supplies in 1992.

As before, the greatest problem for the Lithuanian energy industry is the giant inner debt for gas, heating and electricity, which totals 15 billion coupons.

1992 Agricultural Production Down Nearly 30 Percent

OW0601173093 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1712 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The volume of sales of agricultural production in Lithuania in 1992 amounted to 53% against this figure of 1991, the efficiency of the republic's agricultural production dropping by nearly 30%. The Lithuanian Economics Minister, Julius Veselka, said this in an interview for "EKHO LITVY," the Lithuanian Russian language paper. The republic's turnover decreased by two times against the level of 1991.

According to the Minister, under the conditions of the market economy such a situation may boost unemployment in the republic, bringing it to the level of over 500,000 people.

Lithuania's fuel debt to Russia amounts to over 5 Mn [million] Lithuanian coupons. Mr. Veselka observed that the republic's debt to Russia could only be covered with the help of Western credits and loans. He also expressed his dissatisfaction with the distribution of these funds, calling for rigid supervision over their use.

Mr. Veselka believes that the republic should urgently introduce its own national currency and set its realistic rate of exchange with respect to foreign currencies. He also wants the government to reconsider its taxation policy and adopt personal income statements. Mr. Veselka assures that if all these measures were taken now, they would produce tangible results in 5-7 years.